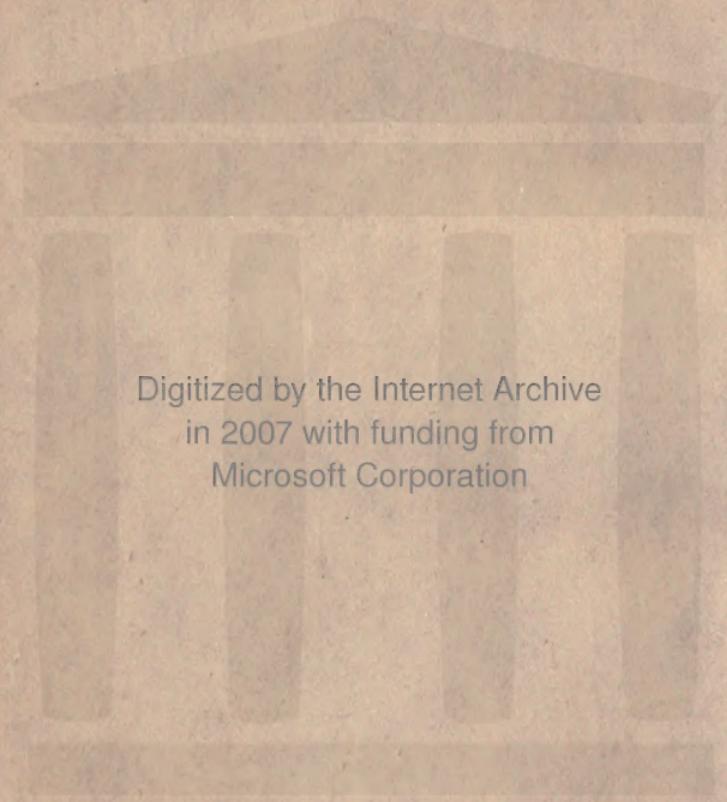




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THE
PROGRESS OF AUSTRALASIA
IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY
T. A. COGHLAN

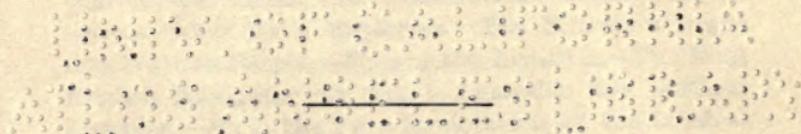
Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, Statistician of New South Wales;

AND

T. T. EWING

Member of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales.

WITH WHICH ARE INCORPORATED, BY PERMISSION OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF NEW SOUTH WALES AND THE OTHER PRINCIPAL COLONIES, CERTAIN STATISTICS AND OTHER MATTER PREPARED FOR THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.



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PROGRESS OF AUSTRALASIA IN THE CENTURY.

PART ONE.

INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA AND ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR FOUNDING A COLONY.

It is impossible to say who were the first discoverers of Australia, although there is evidence that the Chinese had some knowledge of the continent as far back as the thirteenth century. The Malays also would seem to have been acquainted with the northern coast; while Marco Polo, who visited the East at the close of the thirteenth century, makes reference to the reputed existence of a great southern continent. There is in existence a map dedicated to Henry the Eighth of England, on which a large southern land is shown, and the tradition of a *Terra Australis* appears to have been current for a long period before the land itself was known to authentic history.

In 1503, a French navigator named Binot Paulmyer, Sieur de Sonneville, was blown out of his

course, and landed on a large island, which was claimed to be the great southern land of tradition, although Flinders and other authorities are inclined to think that it must have been Madagascar. The Portuguese also advance claims to be the first discoverers of Australia, but so far the evidence cannot be said to establish their pretensions. As early as 1598, Wytfliet describes the *Terra Australis* as the most southern of all lands, and proceeds to give some circumstantial particulars regarding its geographical relation to New Guinea, venturing the opinion that, were it thoroughly explored, it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world.

Early in the seventeenth century, Philip the Third of Spain sent out an expedition from Callao, in Peru, for the purpose of searching for a southern continent. The little fleet comprised three vessels, and had the Portuguese pilot, De Quiros, as navigator, and De Torres, as admiral, or military commander. They left Callao on the 21st of December, 1605, and in the following year discovered the island now known as Espiritu Santo, one of the New Hebrides group, which De Quiros, under the impression that it was indeed the land of which he was in search, named "La Australia del Espiritu Santo." Sickness and discontent led to a mutiny on De Quiros' vessel, and the crew, overpowering their officers during the night, forced the captain to navigate his ship to Mexico. Thus abandoned by his consort, Torres, compelled to bear up for the Philippines to refit, discovered and sailed through the strait that bears his name, and may even have caught a glimpse of the northern coast of the Australian continent. His discovery was not, however, made known until 1792, when Dalrymple rescued his name from

oblivion, bestowing it on the passage which separates New Guinea from Australia. De Quiros returned to Spain to re-engage in the work of petitioning the king to despatch an expedition for the purpose of prosecuting the discovery of the *Terra Australis*. He was finally successful in his petitions, but died before realising his dream of discovery, and was buried in an unknown grave in Panama.

During the same year in which Torres sailed through the strait destined to make him famous, a little Dutch vessel called the *Duyfhen*, or *Dove*, set sail from Bantam, in Java, on a voyage of discovery. This ship entered the Gulf of Carpentaria, and sailed south as far as Cape Keerweer or Turnagain. Here some of the crew landed, but being attacked by natives, made no attempt to explore the country. In 1616 Dirk Hartog discovered the island bearing his name. In 1622 the *Leeuwin*, or *Lioness*, made some discoveries on the south-west coast; and during the following year the yachts *Pera* and *Arnhem* explored the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. Arnhem Land, a portion of the northern territory, still appears on many maps as a memento of this voyage. Among other early Dutch discoverers were Van Edels; De Witt; Poel, who, in 1629, explored the Gulf of Carpentaria; Nuyts, who in the *Gulde Zeepaard* sailed along the south coast, which he called, after himself, Nuyt's Land; and Pelsart, who in the *Batavia* was wrecked on Houtman's Abrolhos. Pelsart's crew mutinied, and he and his party suffered greatly from want of water. The record of his voyage is interesting from the fact that he was the first to carry back to Europe an authentic account of the western coast of Australia, which he described in any but favourable terms. In 1642, Abel Janszen

Tasman took up the work of Dutch discovery, and added Tasmania (long known as Van Diemen's Land) and New Zealand to the geographical knowledge of the day. He subsequently made a voyage to the Gulf of Carpentaria, and examined the northern coast.

The first English navigator to sight the Australian continent was William Dampier, who made a visit to these shores in 1688, as supercargo of the *Cygnet*, a trader whose crew had turned buccaneers. On his return to England he published an account of his adventures, which resulted in his being sent out in the *Roebuck*, in 1699, on a further voyage of discovery. To him we owe the exploration of the coast for about 900 miles—from Shark Bay to Dampier's Archipelago, and thence to Roebuck Bay. He appears to have landed in several places in search of water. His account of the country was quite as unfavourable as Pelsart's. He described it as barren and sterile, and almost devoid of animals, the only one of any importance being a strange creature somewhat resembling a racoon, which advanced by great bounds or leaps instead of walking, using only its hind legs and covering twelve or fifteen feet at a time. This is the first notice of the kangaroo which has come down to us. Between Dampier's first and second voyage Vlamingh visited the south-west coast, and entered and named the Swan River, so called from the number of black swans seen in the locality.

The great voyage of James Cook, in 1769–70, was primarily undertaken for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, but he was also expressly commissioned to ascertain “whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere be only an immense mass of water, or contain another continent.” The vessel

fitted out for the voyage was a small craft of 320 tons carrying twenty-two guns. She was built originally for the coal service, with a view rather to strength than to speed. Chosen by Cook himself, she was renamed the *Endeavour*, in allusion to the great work which her commander was setting out to achieve. Mr. Charles Green was commissioned to conduct the astronomical observations, and Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander were appointed botanists to the expedition. After successfully observing the transit from the island of Tahiti or Otaheite, as Cook wrote it, the *Endeavour's* head was turned south, and then north-west, beating about the Pacific in search of the eastern coast of the great continent whose western shores had been so long known to the Dutch. Circumnavigating and minutely surveying the coast of New Zealand, Cook then stood due west, in order to carry out the instructions given him.

After a voyage of nearly three weeks, Cook, on the 19th of April, 1770, sighted the eastern coast of Australia, at a spot which he named Point Hicks after his first lieutenant, who discovered it. This he placed in latitude 38° south and longitude $148^{\circ} 50'$ east; but no such headland has since been identified, and it is thought that Cook must have been deceived in some manner by the sandhills of the Ninety-mile Beach. Four leagues farther to the north-east he discovered and named Ram Head, but the first important point observed was a bare and sandy headland, to which he gave the name of Cape Howe. After passing and naming Mount Dromedary, the Pigeon House, Point Upright, Cape St. George, and Red Point, Botany Bay was discovered on the 28th April, 1770, and as it appeared to offer a suitable anchorage, the *Endeavour* entered

the bay and dropped anchor. The ship brought to opposite a group of natives, who were cooking over a fire. Cook and his crew, unacquainted with the character of the Australian aborigines, were not a little astonished that these natives took no notice of them or their proceedings. Even the splash of the anchor in the water, and the noise of the cable running out through the hawse-hole, in no way disturbed them at their occupation, or caused them to evince the slightest curiosity. But when the captain of the *Endeavour* ordered out the pinnace and prepared to land, the natives threw off their nonchalance; for on the boat's approaching the shore, two men, each armed with a bundle of spears, presented themselves on a projecting rock and made threatening signs to the strangers. It is interesting to note that the ingenious "Wommera," or throwing stick, which is peculiar to Australia, was first observed on this occasion. As the men were evidently determined to oppose any attempt at landing, a musket was discharged between them, in the hope that they would be frightened by the noise, but it produced no effect beyond causing one of them to drop his bundle of spears, of which, however, he immediately repossessed himself, and with his comrade resumed the same menacing attitude. At last one cast a stone towards the boat, an act which earned him a charge of small shot in the leg. Nothing daunted, the two ran back into the bush, and presently returned furnished with shields made of bark, with which to protect themselves from the firearms of the crew. Such intrepidity is certainly worthy of passing notice. Unlike the American Indians who supposed Columbus and his crew to be supernatural beings, and their ships in some way endowed with life, and who were

thrown into convulsions of terror by the first discharge of firearms which they witnessed, these Australians were neither excited to wonder by the ship, nor overawed by the superior number and unknown weapons of the strangers. Cook examined the bay in the pinnace, and landed several times; but by no inducements could he prevail upon the natives to hold any friendly communication with him.

The well-known circumstance of the great variety of new plants here obtained, from which Botany Bay derives its name, should not be passed over. Before quitting the bay the ceremony was performed of hoisting the Union Jack, first on the south shore, and then near the north head, formal possession of the territory being thus taken for the British crown. During the sojourn in Botany Bay the crew had to perform the painful duty of burying a comrade—a seaman named Forby Sutherland, who was in all probability the first British subject whose body was committed to Australian soil.

After leaving Botany Bay, Cook sailed northward. He saw and named Port Jackson, but forbore to enter the finest natural harbour in Australia. Broken Bay and other inlets, and several headlands, were also seen and named, but the vessel did not come to an anchor till Moreton Bay was reached. Prevented by the wind from entering the harbour, Cook continued his voyage, taking notes, as he proceeded, for a rough chart of the coast, and landing at Bustard and Keppel Bays and the Bay of Inlets. He had passed over 1,300 miles without the occurrence of any event worthy of being chronicled, when suddenly one night at ten o'clock the water was found to shoal, without any sign of breakers or land. While Cook was speculating on the cause of this

phenomenon, and was in the act of ordering out the boats to take soundings, the *Endeavour* struck heavily and fell over so much that, in order to lighten her, the guns, spare cables, and other heavy gear had at once to be thrown overboard. As day broke attempts were made to float the vessel off with a rising tide; but these were unsuccessful. The water was pouring so rapidly into the hold that with four pumps constantly going the crew could hardly keep it in check. At length one of the midshipmen suggested the device of "fothering," which he had seen practised in the West Indies. This consists in passing a sail attached to cords, and charged with oakum, wool and other things, under the vessel's keel, in such a manner that the canvas may be drawn by suction into the aperture and so partially prevent the inrush of water. This was performed with great success, and the vessel was floated off with the evening tide. The land was soon after made, near the mouth of a small stream, which Cook called the *Endeavour* River. A headland close by he named Cape Tribulation. The ship was steered into the river, and there careened and thoroughly repaired. Cook, having completed the survey of the east coast, to which he gave the name of New South Wales, sighted and named Cape York, the northernmost point of Australia, and took final possession of his discoveries from latitude 38° south northward to latitude $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south, on a spot which he named Possession Island, thence returning to England by way of Torres Straits and the Indian Ocean.

The favourable reports brought to England by the *Endeavour* on her return and the graphic account of his voyage published by Cook, turned all eyes to Australia, or New Holland, as it continued to be called.

Since the battle of Worcester in 1651 until the declaration of independence in 1776, the North American plantation had been used as a receptacle both for political prisoners and for offenders against the laws of England. Judge Jeffries drove a brisk trade in slaves convicted for a consideration, and the Virginia cotton-fields were worked by real and alleged felons sold at so much a head by speculative shippers to the colonial planters. Even after the revolt of the Thirteen States convicts were transported to America, and transportation warrants still exist, among the records of the Home Office, dated 1783 and 1784, and addressed to the superintendent of the hulks in the River Thames, requiring him to deliver certain convicts under his charge, to the contractor for conveyance to North America. When, however, the independence of the Union was, by the provisions of the Peace of Versailles, recognised by England, the overcrowded conditions of the gaols compelled the authorities to deport elsewhere the criminals who were fast becoming a danger and an embarrassment. The coasts of Africa were first tried and many convicts were sent thither. The unhealthiness of the climate was, however, so great and the mortality so appalling that transportation to that country was completely given up in the year 1785, and a new dépôt was looked for. Sir Joseph Banks and others holding influential positions, being deeply interested in the British occupation and settlement of the newly discovered lands in the South Seas, were at this time continually bringing before the public and the authorities the desirability of establishing a colony at Botany Bay, the fertile and beautiful territory discovered in 1770 by Captain Cook. The revolt of the American colonies and the impossibility

of sending thither any more convicts from Great Britain and Ireland, the failure of the African coasts as a receiving dépôt for transported felons, together with the overcrowded condition of the English gaols, forced the attention of the Government in the direction of the eastern shores of New Holland, which Banks, Matra, and Young advocated as a suitable field for British colonisation. Hence the first proposal of a definite character for the colonisation of Australia arose from the necessity of utilising the continent in a manner similar to that in which the North American plantations had been utilised previous to the recognition by the English Government of their independence.

The difficulty in disposing of their criminal population was, however, only one of the causes which determined the British Government to found the colony of New South Wales; for it is now abundantly clear that all concerned felt that they were engaged in founding a new home in the Southern Hemisphere for the British people, and that visions of even greater progress than has yet been attained filled the minds, not only of Viscount Sydney and Governor Phillip, but also of many reflecting persons in the colony itself after it had been established.

PART TWO.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATION OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

IT was in the early part of 1787 that Viscount Sydney, Secretary of State for the Colonies, determined to plant a colony in New South Wales, and by May of that year the first fleet had been assembled. It consisted of the 20-gun frigate *Sirius*, the armed tender *Supply*, three store ships—the *Golden Grove*, *Fishburn* and *Borradaile*; and six transports—the *Alexander*, *Scarborough*, *Lady Penrhyn*, *Prince of Wales*, *Friendship*, and *Charlotte*. The largest of these vessels measured only 450 tons, and the smallest no more than 270 tons. On board the six transports were packed, according to the statement made by Collins in his history, no fewer than 564 men and 192 women, all prisoners who had been sentenced to expatriation. There were also 168 marines and 10 officers, commissioned and non-commissioned. These, with 5 medical men, a few mechanics, and 40 women—wives of marines—together with 13 children—the offspring of the convicts—made up the total number of persons despatched to found the colony. Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., was placed in command of the expedition, and given

a commission as Governor and Captain-General of New South Wales. Second in command was Captain John Hunter, of the *Sirius*, and Mr. David Collins accompanied the expedition as Judge-Advocate.

The fleet sailed in May, 1787, and after calling at Rio Janeiro, arrived in Botany Bay in the beginning of January, 1788. A cursory examination convinced Captain Phillip that a more unsuitable site for a new settlement could hardly have been chosen than the shores of this inlet. Despite the profusion of new plants which had so delighted Banks and Solander, the neighbourhood of Botany Bay was by no means fertile. The scarcity of good water was a further disadvantage, while the bay itself was so shallow as to forbid the near approach of ships to the shore. It was, besides, exposed to the full swell of the Pacific, and was without bays, creeks, or coves to afford shelter. The Governor accordingly determined to explore the coast in search of a more suitable site for the settlement. After proceeding with three of the boats about nine miles, he found himself abreast of the entrance to Port Jackson, which Cook had only seen from a distance, and had marked on his chart as a harbour for boats. Undeterred by this, Phillip rounded the South Head, and soon saw opening before him the whole expanse of one of the finest harbours in the world. For miles to the west stretched the peaceful waters of Port Jackson, which must have delighted the explorers, disheartened as they had been by the appearance and surroundings of Botany Bay. In place of the stunted scrub which formed the greater part of the vegetation of that locality, Port Jackson was found to be surrounded by a thick forest of noble trees, which extended to

the water's edge, and promised an abundant supply of timber for building purposes. And in place of the open roadstead at Botany, a succession of bays and inlets opened on the astonished gaze of the hardy navigators as they proceeded up the harbour. Deep water was found to extend to the very base of the rocks, thus obviating any necessity for expensive wharves, the construction of which must have occupied the little community for many months to the neglect of more immediately pressing wants. The Government's choice of the site of the present metropolis of Australasia was determined by the fact that, about six miles from the entrance, an apparently perennial stream of the purest water was found discharging itself into a beautiful sandy inlet, which was named Sydney Cove, in honour of the statesman under whose auspices the enterprise had been undertaken. Before finally deciding on this site, Captain Phillip spent three days in exploring the various bays, but was confirmed in his original choice by the fact that no such stream of water had been found elsewhere, though numerous positions equally suitable in other respects presented themselves.

Returning immediately to Botany, preparations were made for bringing the colony round to Sydney Cove. As the fleet was standing out of the bay, an interesting incident occurred—two strange vessels, evidently making for the entrance, were descried in the offing. Captain Phillip went out in the *Supply* to meet them, and they proved to be a French exploring party under the command of Jean François Galaup, Comte de la Pérouse, their vessels being the frigates *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*. After an interchange of courtesies, the French were left to refresh

and refit in Botany Bay. They stayed there till March, 1788, and buried one of their company on shore—Father Le Peceveur, of the Order of St. Francis, the naturalist of the expedition, who died of wounds received in an encounter with the natives of the South Seas. His tomb is still extant at La Pérouse, near the north head of Botany Bay, where also a monument was placed, in the year 1825, to the memory of the commander of the expedition, who was shipwrecked and whose crew were murdered at Vanikoro, one of the Santa Cruz islands. The monument was erected by Messrs. De Bougainville and Ducampier, commanding the French war vessels *Thétis* and *Espérance*, then lying in Port Jackson.

On Captain Phillip's arrival in Sydney Harbour on the memorable 26th January, 1788, the ships anchored in the Cove, and preparations were at once made for landing the colonists. The clearing of the ground in the vicinity, and along the banks of the little stream, was commenced, and when a sufficient space had thus been obtained a flagstaff was erected, and the Union Jack run up. After the firing of three volleys by the marines, the Governor read his commission, and addressed words of counsel, warning, and encouragement to the prisoners, the ceremony closing with general festivity. Arduous labour succeeded this formality, for it was well understood that unless the settlers could raise supplies for themselves, the existence of the colony would be precarious, as the store of provisions in their possession was calculated to last only a very short time.

Accordingly, ground was cleared at the head of Farm Cove, adjoining the settlement, and an attempt was made to raise wheat, but time has shown that the soil in the immediate neighbourhood of Syd-

ney is not suited to the cultivation of this cereal, and even if a good crop had been obtained, the colonists must have starved while it was maturing. No food worth mentioning was procured from the land, and the little community was on the brink of starvation, when a ship arrived with another batch of colonists, but without stores. This brought matters to a climax, whereupon Governor Phillip sent the *Sirius* to Cape Colony, and the *Supply* to Batavia, to procure provisions, which, however, could only be obtained in insufficient quantity, so that in a few weeks after the return of these vessels the state of affairs became as bad as before, and starvation again stared the colony in the face. Under these circumstances, every one, including the Governor himself, was placed on short allowance, and even the sheep and cattle which had been reserved for breeding purposes were killed for food. In this state of affairs the Governor bethought himself of Norfolk Island, whither, shortly after his arrival, he had sent Lieutenant Philip Gidley King, of the *Sirius*, to establish a branch colony. A detachment of 200 convicts, with a guard of 70 marines was, therefore, despatched to the island. On arrival, it was found that King and his men had cleared a considerable area of land, and had succeeded in raising an abundant crop. But the *Sirius*, in which the new detachment sailed, was wrecked on a reef off the island, so that no supplies were procured thence at that time.

When the prospects of the settlement at Sydney Cove had reached their gloomiest, three store-ships arrived, and snatched the colony from the very brink of destruction by famine. This tided over the difficulty, and so great a privation of food was never again experienced. Fresh difficulties, however, beset

the settlers through the arrival of some shiploads of prisoners, most of whom were in a sick and dying condition. Of 1,700 men and women who had been embarked, 200 died on the voyage, and several hundred more were found to be *in extremis* on arrival. In the midst of these horrors, the Governor's responsibilities were further increased by the attempts of some of the prisoners to escape from the colony. Some took to the bush; others stole boats and put to sea, intending to reach the Dutch settlements in the Indian Ocean. Daring as these latter attempts may appear, one at least was successful: two men and a woman, in an open boat, succeeded in reaching Timor, where they were imprisoned and sent back to Sydney on the first opportunity. Numerous efforts were made to escape from the settlement by land, the ignorance of the convicts being such that many imagined they could walk overland to China, and not a few perished in the bush while making the attempt.

Governor Phillip's health gave way under the cares and anxieties of his office, and in 1792 he returned to England, where he received a pension in reward for his exertions in founding the colony, and where he died at an advanced age. A statue of Phillip, erected at the public expense in the Botanic Garden of Sydney, commemorates the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the settlement at Port Jackson.

Captain Phillip was in many ways an ideal governor of a penal colony, and he and his immediate successors performed duties of a very opposite character. It must be remembered, in studying the history of the early settlement of Australasia, that the relations of the Governor with those under his

charge were immediate and very personal. He was not only the commandant of a penal settlement, he was the patriarch and bread-provider of a struggling colony. No intermediaries stood between him and the humblest complainant. Even in the twenties he was more accessible than a modern police magistrate. The early Governor, therefore, was more than the head gaoler of a penal settlement. He was dictator, chief justice, court of appeal, parliament, storekeeper and census taker. He journeyed from district to district in his little realm on certain appointed days, numbered his people, questioned and exhorted them, and carried back with him to headquarters the list of their grievances. The history of Australasia in its early days is the history of its governors, and, as will be seen, the prosperity or otherwise of the country depended very much on the character of the person who ruled it.

CHAPTER III.

NEW SOUTH WALES AS A PENAL COLONY.

AFTER the departure of Captain Phillip, Major Grose and Captain Paterson, officers in charge of the military, administered the government until the arrival of his successor. In 1795, Captain Hunter, who, after the loss of the *Sirius*, had gone to England, arrived as the second Governor. With the arrival of Hunter affairs took a new turn. He brought out a number of free settlers, mostly farming men: and some fine alluvial land having been discovered on the banks of the Hawkesbury, farming was successfully begun, and in a short time more than 6,000 acres were under crops of wheat and maize. The attempts to introduce cattle were for a time unsuccessful, but in 1796 a herd of sixty head was discovered at the "Cowpastures" near Camden. These were descendants of some cattle that had strayed from the settlement several years before. Though their quality was found to have deteriorated, they proved a very welcome addition to the live stock of the settlement. In 1800, when Captain Hunter left the colony, the population was over 6,000; attempts had been made to penetrate into the interior but without success; the Hunter River and its coal mines had been discovered, and the mines were being worked by a detachment of prisoners; the city of Newcastle had been founded; and the New South Wales Corps, a military body enlisted for

service in the colony (the first detachments of which had arrived in 1790), formed an efficient garrison and guard over the more refractory prisoners. During Governor Hunter's term of office, Bass and Flinders minutely examined the coast to the south of Sydney, in a small boat only 9 feet over all; and the former discovered the strait which bears his name, thus proving Tasmania to be an island, and not the southern extremity of the continent, as had previously been supposed.

The next governor was Philip Gidley King, previously mentioned as the lieutenant of the *Sirius*, who had been despatched by Phillip to found a settlement on Norfolk Island. Though all fears of famine had now disappeared, Governor King soon found himself involved in difficulties of a scarcely less distressing nature. To explain these it will be necessary to describe the constitution of the New South Wales Corps. This body had been specially raised for service in the colony, the officers of the King's regiment not unnaturally objecting to be sent to such a far distant settlement, where they knew that they would find no intellectual occupation, and where their sole work would consist in acting as a prison guard, or, at most, in making a few raids, in reprisals for the alleged misdeeds of the ill-used, and often sorely provoked, aborigines. As a military guard of some sort was necessary, this corps was raised, and a few enterprising spirits—many of whom had never served before—were induced to accept commissions, with the view of obtaining grants of land and making their fortunes in the colony. Unfortunately, the readiest means to this end were found in the import trade, and, as rum was in great request, the officers of the New South Wales

Corps became importers of that spirit in large quantities—and even set up private stills in defiance of a Government order. Governor King, who was specially commissioned to put a stop to the traffic, proceeded to act with great promptitude, and his vigorous proceedings in sending away thousands of gallons of spirits and wine created a storm of indignation among the importers, and greatly embittered the officers of the New South Wales Corps against the Government.

During King's time a serious mutiny broke out among the prisoners. The more tractable of these were "assigned" as servants to the settlers, and engaged in working the farms and squattages; but the more reckless characters, made desperate in many instances by the treatment they received, were worked on the roads, in chain-gangs. A party of over 300 of these chain-gang men was employed at Castlehill, on the road between Parramatta and Windsor. These men, taking advantage of the small number of their guard, abandoned their work, managed to remove their irons, seized some firearms, and marched towards the Hawkesbury, expecting to be reinforced by the men employed in the neighbourhood. But Major Johnston, second in command of the New South Wales Corps, pursued them with only twenty men, and on coming up with them, charged with such impetuosity that the mutineers were fain to lay down their arms and beg for mercy. Three or four of the ringleaders were afterwards hanged, but the rest were permitted to return to their duty on undertaking to be of good conduct for the future.

An event of the utmost importance to the colony also took place under the administration of Gov-

ernor King. This was the initiation of wool-growing. John Macarthur, who had held a commission as captain in the New South Wales Corps, procured, with great trouble and by much perseverance, some Spanish merinos, and having obtained a grant of 10,000 acres of land across the Cowpasture River, which estate he named "Camden," commenced sheep farming on a large scale. In a short time his enterprise showed every sign of a successful issue, to the great benefit of the colony generally, and to his own personal advantage. In spite of these evident signs of material progress, however, Governor King was so worn out with the conflicts caused by his endeavours to suppress the rum traffic, and was in such constant collision with the officers of the New South Wales Corps on that account, that he seized the first opportunity of leaving the colony, and was succeeded in the government in 1806 by William Bligh, a post-captain in the navy.

Governor Bligh was a distinguished naval officer. His wonderful voyage after the mutiny of the *Bounty* had caused the Imperial Government to entertain a high opinion of his conduct, as well as of his courage and determination. His services were numerous, and he had been publicly thanked by Lord Nelson, after the bombardment of Copenhagen, for the gallantry and skill which he displayed on that occasion. Hence he was selected as a fit man to crush the clique of officers engaged in the rum traffic, and to purify official life in the colony. King had been only partially successful in this direction, and the British Government gave the strictest injunctions to Captain Bligh to stop the trade in spirits. Accordingly, in February, 1807, he issued the following general order:—"His Excellency, the

Governor, laments to find by his late visit through the colony that the most calamitous evils have been produced by persons bartering, or paying, spirits for grain of all kinds, and the necessaries of life in general, and to labourers for their hire; such proceedings depressing the industrious and depriving the settlers of their comforts. In order, therefore, to remedy these grievous complaints and to relieve the inhabitants, who have suffered by the traffic, he feels it his duty to put a total stop to this barter in future, and to prohibit the exchange of spirits or other liquors as payment for grain, animal food, wearing apparel, or any other commodity whatsoever, to all descriptions of persons in the colony and its dependencies."

This order is in itself sufficient to indicate to what fearful lengths the "rum currency" had been carried. Naturally it would have been expected that all respectable people, the military and ex-military especially, would have joined the Governor heart and soul in his efforts to put a stop to the traffic, and induce a more healthy state of things. Such, however, was not the case; and in the struggle which continued throughout the whole period of Bligh's rule, the Governor encountered the fiercest opposition from the New South Wales Corps. Other matters embittered the relation between the Governor and the colonists, and in these Bligh was not so obviously in the right as in his attempt to put down the contraband traffic in spirits. The contest reached its climax on the arrest of John Macarthur, whose efforts to promote the growth of wool have been alluded to. That gentleman had become specially obnoxious to the Governor; and, as he was also the chief trader in the community, he was selected

as a scapegoat for the sins of the rest. Mr. Macarthur had been part owner of a vessel that traded to Tahiti for salt pork and other articles for the supply of the colony. While this vessel was lying in Port Jackson, he received a summons from Mr. Atkins, the Judge-Advocate—that is, Chief Justice—to appear before him to answer to a complaint on the part of the crew of his vessel, of withholding from them their wages, in consequence of which they alleged that they had been compelled to break through the port regulations by coming ashore without a special order. Macarthur returned an answer in writing, explanatory of his conduct in the matter, but did not obey the summons by appearing in person. This was construed to be an act of contumacy, which some attributed to a feeling of personal resentment towards the Governor, engendered by the action of the latter against the “rum currency.”

A warrant was accordingly issued for Macarthur's apprehension, and on the 25th January, 1808, he was brought before the Judge-Advocate and a military jury of six, consisting of officers of the New South Wales Corps—such being at the time the composition of the Supreme Court of the colony. Mr. Macarthur objected to the Judge-Advocate sitting on his trial, on the ground that the latter bore him personal ill-feeling, for which assertion it would appear that there was some foundation, especially as Atkins' adviser throughout the whole proceedings was one George Crossley, a transported attorney, who is believed to have been an enemy of Macarthur. Although the defendant's objection was sustained by the six military officers, the Judge-Advocate refused to abdicate his position, and the Governor declined to supersede him—for which indeed

he had no authority, Atkins having been appointed by the British Government.

At this juncture, the Governor summoned the six officers to his presence to explain their conduct in supporting Macarthur's protest and refusing to sit with the Judge-Advocate, but they declined to obey. During the next day several messages were sent to Major Johnston, the commandant, at his residence at Annandale, asking him to confer with the Governor as to the conduct of his subordinates. That officer, however, declined to come to town on the plea of ill-health. This was an evident subterfuge, for between 6 and 7 p.m. on the same day (the anniversary of the foundation of the colony) he suddenly made his appearance in the Barrack Square, where, if we may believe his statements, he found everything in a state of ferment and confusion, and himself beset with the clamours of a number of the leading inhabitants, civil as well as military, calling upon him to put the Governor under arrest. He accordingly marched at the head of his regiment, with drums beating and colours flying, to Government House, and Bligh was put in close confinement in his own residence. Johnston thereupon took over the government, his first act being to suspend the Judge-Advocate, the Commissary, the Provost-Marshal, the Chaplain, and other principal officials, and to appoint others to act in their place.

Major Johnston continued to administer the government till his lieutenant-colonel (Foveaux) superseded him, as the senior officer in the colony, and eventually Colonel Paterson came from Tasmania and assumed the direction of affairs. Both these officers approved Johnston's proceedings, but the latter set Bligh at liberty, after a detention of twelve

months, on condition of his proceeding straight to England in a vessel which was then ready to sail. Bligh promised to do so, but on his way called at Tasmania, where the military authorities attempted to detain him; he was, however, successful in escaping their hands.

News of the events had meanwhile reached England, and the Government, being very much concerned at the proceedings of the military, despatched Major-General Macquarie to the colony as Governor. His instructions were to reinstate Governor Bligh for twenty-four hours and to send Johnston home under close arrest. Bligh could not be reinstated, as he had left Sydney; so Macquarie's first act was to arrest Major Johnston, who was subsequently tried by court-martial in England and sentenced to be cashiered. The leniency of the sentence was such as to call forth special remark by the Prince Regent, in a minute appended to the proceedings, distinctly stating that it was not to be drawn into a precedent. Johnston afterward returned to the colony, and died at his estate at Annandale.

With the arrival of Governor Macquarie, the colony entered on a stage of decided progress. The final abolition of the traffic in rum was followed by a marked improvement in the morals of the population. Schools were established, and the children, who had hitherto grown up in perfect ignorance, were taught to read and write, and instructed in useful handicrafts. An impetus was given to exploration, and the dwellings of the settlers in the bush were much improved by the efforts of the Governor during the annual tours which he made through the colony. Churches and public buildings were erected, asylums founded, and a better tone

was given to society generally by the exertions of this philanthropic governor, ably seconded by the endeavours of his high-minded wife, who did much to improve the condition of women and children in the colony. Among the many beneficial works undertaken by Macquarie by far the most important was the road over the mountains, via Lapstone Hill and Mount Victoria, to Bathurst. After many attempts to penetrate the Coast Range, it had been at last successfully crossed, in 1813, by Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson, names memorable in the annals of the colony.

Almost as beneficial as his efforts to instruct the population in religion and morality, and to open up the country, was the favour with which Macquarie treated the "emancipists," that is, those convicts who had become free by serving out their sentences. When it is remembered that the majority of those transported had been guilty of petty offences only, or of acts which in the present day would scarcely be deemed offences at all, the Governor's determination to give every encouragement in the way of official recognition to emancipists must be strongly commended. To transport a person for a petty offence, to ostracise him for the rest of his life, and to extend the social ignominy to his children, was in the highest degree unjust; and Governor Macquarie, as a humane man, set his face against the custom. In religious matters also he showed a largeness of mind in advance of public opinion, by removing, as far as lay in his power, the religious disability under which a large section of the colonists laboured. In 1821, after a longer term of office than has been allotted to any other Australian governor, "L. Macquarie, Esq.,” as he modestly

styles himself in the inscriptions on the public buildings he erected—discarding the prestige attaching to his military rank—left the colony, to the regret of the entire population, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Brisbane.

The new Governor trod in the steps of his predecessor. He carried on the work of exploration, and in 1823 despatched Mr. Oxley, surveyor-general, to survey Moreton Bay, Port Curtis, and other parts of the north-eastern coast-line. Following up the information furnished by a castaway named Pamphlett, Oxley discovered a river debouching into Moreton Bay, which he named after the Governor. Upon the banks of this river was afterwards founded the town of Brisbane, which has become the capital of the colony of Queensland. The Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers were discovered soon afterwards by Hovell and Hume, who had formed an exploring party under the auspices of the Governor. The immigration of free settlers was much encouraged by Sir Thomas Brisbane, the result being the arrival of numbers of young men, many possessing capital, who became squatters, and soon wrought an important change in the colony, by causing the costly government farms to be broken up. As a consequence, the wants of the community were better as well as more cheaply supplied by private enterprise. Censorship of the press, which had been strictly enforced up to this time, was abolished by Governor Brisbane by proclamation dated 15th October, 1824. Trial by jury was introduced about the same period, by which the privilege of being tried by his peers was extended to every man, the assessors to the judge before that time having been chosen exclusively from officers in the army. Sir Francis Forbes, the first

chief justice, was mainly instrumental in introducing this great and salutary change in the administration of the law. The first normally constituted jury sat at the November quarter sessions of 1824. An act had also been passed by the Imperial Parliament, in 1823, which conferred another most important privilege on the colony. It was provided that the Governor should nominate a Legislative Council of seven members, by whose advice he was to be guided. Previous to the appointment of his council, the Governor had been virtually absolute, the only check upon his power being the public opinion of the colonists, and the authority of the British Government as represented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. This council of seven was really the nucleus around which have gathered our present Constitution and the liberties we now possess. It was the first step—in which, says the proverb, all difficulty consists; and yet it was only after much agitation that even this initial effort was allowed to be made.

The next Governor was Major-General Ralph Darling, who, finding the colony in the state of progress above described, by a series of blunders nearly succeeded in destroying the beneficial result of the efforts of his predecessors. Arriving in Sydney in 1825, he soon became involved in very serious disputes with the colonists and the press. In order to meet the criticisms of the latter, a number of acts were passed by the council, which had the effect of stifling obnoxious comments for the time. One good result which sprang indirectly from these arbitrary acts was the enlargement, in 1828, of the Legislative Council from seven to fifteen members. The Bush-ranging Act was passed by this council to put down a prevalent nuisance—the gangs of escaped prisoners

who infested the principal roads and robbed all comers without distinction.

The work of exploration made some progress in Governor Darling's time, the famous journeys of Captain Charles Sturt having been undertaken with his sanction. Other explorers were Allen Cunningham, Hume, and George Macleay, son of Alexander Macleay, the Colonial Secretary of that day.

It was strongly suspected at this time that the French had an idea of forming settlements in Australia. French ships constantly appeared off the coast; ostensibly fitted out for the purpose of making geographical discoveries, but really, it was believed, to found a colony in any Australian territory which they might find unoccupied. To frustrate this suspected design, Darling despatched two expeditions, in 1826, to King George's Sound and to Western Port, in which neighbourhoods it was surmised the French were hovering. To show the extent to which these fears, chimerical as they may now appear, prevailed at the time, it will be sufficient to quote the Governor's instruction to the officers in charge of the expeditions. He says:—“Should you find the French already in occupation, you will, notwithstanding, land the troops, and signify to the Frenchmen that their continuance with any view of establishing themselves or of colonisation, will be considered an unjustifiable intrusion on his Britannic Majesty's possessions.” No Frenchmen, however, were found at either of the places named, and settlements were therefore promptly formed at Western Port and at King George's Sound and on Swan River, in Western Australia. When Governor Darling left the colony in 1831, much progress had been achieved, in spite of the newspaper war and his

personal unpopularity; the population had reached over 51,000 for the whole of New South Wales, and the value of the total exports was £500,000.

The unpopularity of Governor Darling gave a factitious advantage to his successor, Sir Richard Bourke, even before his sterling qualities had become known. Sir Richard Bourke may be said to have been the real founder of our present free institutions, as under his rule the foundations of the constitution we now enjoy were well and firmly laid, on the solid basis of full and equal rights to all, whatever their sect or belief and whether emancipist or originally free. Immigrants began to arrive in large numbers, under the policy of assisted immigration, which was then initiated. The first vote in aid of immigration was made by the Legislative Council at Bourke's suggestion, and the British Governor doubled the amount given by the colony. Under that system the first batches of immigrants to arrive were fifty young women from an orphan school in Cork, and fifty-nine mechanics from Scotland, whom the Rev. Dr. Lang introduced for the purpose of building the Australian College.

But the great achievement of Sir Richard Bourke's administration was the establishment of religious equality, and the breaking up of the monopoly of government aid enjoyed by one communion. For his services in the cause of liberty, in this and other instances, a movement was set on foot after his departure—which took place in 1837, twelve months after the passing of the Church Act—to erect a statue to him in Sydney. Mr. Westmacott was commissioned to design a figure of Sir Richard in bronze, which, together with a granite pedestal, arrived in Sydney in 1842. It was erected where it

now stands, at the Macquarie Street entrance to the Domain, opposite to the Public Library, and was unveiled on the 11th April, 1842. This was the first statue ever set up in Australia.

It was no more than a fitting tribute to the virtues of the Governor, and serves even now as a reminder of the new order of things which he introduced.

The famous expeditions of Sir Thomas Mitchell, who had succeeded Oxley as surveyor-general, were undertaken during Bourke's tenure of office. The first was to the north, as far as Liverpool Plains; in the second, the country between the Bogan and the Macquarie was surveyed; and in the third the course of the Darling was traced, from its source to its junction with the Murray. In the fourth Mitchell discovered the rich lands of Victoria, which so enraptured him that he called the country *Australia Felix*.

The administration of Sir George Gipps was marked by the abolition of transportation. The system of assigning convicts as servants to the settlers had ceased in 1838, and transportation itself was abolished by an Order in Council in 1840, though an attempt was made to revive it nine years later. For many years previous to its abolition, the system of transportation was viewed with great disfavour by the colonists, and a powerful league was formed as early as 1830 to bring about its cessation. During the fifty-three years when New South Wales was open to receive British prisoners, the number of convicts who landed in Sydney was about 82,250, of whom 70,040 were males and 12,210 females. At the census of March, 1841, there were in the colony 19,397 persons—15,760 males and 3,637 females—originally bound but free by emancipation or the

expiration of their period of servitude; and 26,977 persons—23,844 males and 3,133 females—whose period of servitude had not expired. It would therefore appear that out of the total number of convicts sent to the colony, 46,374 remained at the abolition of the system of transportation, while 35,876 had either been removed by death or had left the settlement.

The great event of Governor Gipps' time was undoubtedly the introduction of a new constitution, by the establishment of a reformed Legislative Council composed of thirty-six members, twelve nominated by the Crown, and the remainder elected by those who were placed on the electoral roll, a small property qualification being required. The new Council met on the first of August, 1843.

CHAPTER IV.

INDUSTRIAL CRISIS OF 1843 AND THE DISCOVERY
OF GOLD.

SOON after the introduction of the new Constitution a great commercial crisis followed, so that the subject of paramount importance which engaged the attention of the Legislature was the financial condition of the colony. The cessation of transportation had, of course, caused the withdrawal of large sums of British money, which used to be spent on public works and in maintaining the prison establishments, and the military necessary to guard them; and the distress thus caused was added to by an unwise interference on the part of the Imperial Government with the land laws. The price of sheep fell in the most alarming manner, 1s. per head being a common price. Mr. O'Brien, who occupied a run in the Yass district, at length hit upon the happy idea of boiling down sheep for tallow, for which at the time there was a good market in Europe; and the price of sheep was thus raised to 3s. or 4s. per head, five shillings or six shillings' worth of tallow being obtainable by the process of boiling down. The meat-canning industry was started at the same time, but was not financially a success, although the preserved meats were of excellent quality.

The Legislative Council, imagining that the very existence of the colony was threatened by the prevailing state of things, sought to "avert ruin"—to

use their own expression—by “pledging the public credit,” but the Governor refused the royal assent to the bill passed for that purpose. It was then proposed to issue Treasury Bills, but the Council would not entertain the idea. The failure of the Bank of Australia, the liabilities of whose shareholders were unlimited, brought affairs to a crisis, and it was proposed to relieve the shareholders of their liability by a bill empowering the bank to dispose of its assets by a public lottery. No attempt was made to defend lotteries in general, but it was contended that if the goods of proprietors of the bank were seized under executions, the bailiff would be seen in possession of one house in ten in Sydney, and that the result would be a panic, which would annihilate the value of property. Under pressure of such an argument as this the Lottery Bill passed, but was disallowed by the British authorities. The necessity of the case was so urgent, however, that the lottery took place, and was successfully completed before the law officers of the Crown could interfere to prevent it. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and the lottery was, no doubt, in the main beneficial.

Sir George Gipps was succeeded as Governor by Sir Charles Augustus Fitzroy, in whose tenure of office occurred several of the most important events in the history of Australia. These, in the order of their happening, were the final abolition of transportation in 1849; the separation of Victoria in 1851; the discovery of gold in the same year, and the establishment of responsible government in 1855–6.

Prisoners had ceased to be sent to New South Wales in 1840, but owing to the great depression of trade which prevailed during the rule of Governor Gipps, station properties, in 1849, so depreciated in

value as to threaten ruin to their holders. Many of the squatters thought that a revival of the system of assigned servants would be beneficial to their interests, and, as it happened, the Imperial Government wished at that time to possess once more a large penal colony. Two powerful interests, therefore, were allied in an effort to re-establish transportation and the system of assigned servants. To meet this threatening combination, a number of public meetings were held in Sydney under the auspices of the Anti-Transportation League, and an overwhelming expression of popular opinion, most vehemently adverse to the scheme, was given; nevertheless the British Government, under the advice of Sir Charles Fitzroy, persisted in their endeavours to force prisoners upon the unwilling inhabitants of the colony. Several ship-loads of convicts were accordingly sent out, and an attempt was made to land them in the first instance at the new settlement of Port Phillip, now the city of Melbourne. The settlers there, however, would not tolerate the proceeding, whereupon the ships were compelled to leave for Sydney and Moreton Bay, now Brisbane. One of the vessels, named the *Hashemy*, cast anchor in Port Jackson, and there at once ensued a serious contest between the inhabitants and the Executive. Immediately upon the fact becoming publicly known that the *Hashemy* was off the Heads with convicts on board, the people of the metropolis were lashed into a fever of excitement, and a great public meeting was forthwith convened to consider what steps should be taken in this pressing emergency, as it then was universally considered. The result was that the Government saw fit to forbid the landing of the prisoners at that time, not caring to face the oblo-

quy and public indignation which the adoption of any other course would certainly have brought upon them. As, however, the *Hasheemy* could not be sent back, and as her prisoners could not permanently remain on board, a compromise was entered into. The prisoners were removed from the ship, and a large batch sent to Moreton Bay, in order that the settlers in that district might have an opportunity of hiring them. The remainder were allowed to be hired to various persons in the colony, though it was stipulated that the men should not be landed in Sydney, nor employed in the county of Cumberland.

The Legislative Council afterwards proceeded to take action in the matter, and a resolution was proposed to the effect "that an address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that the Order in Council which declared New South Wales a colony to which convicts might be sent be at once revoked." The adjournment of the Council was, however, agreed to before the motion could be put. In consequence of this partial shelving of the question an overwhelming public meeting was held, which petitioned the Council to use its utmost endeavours to prevent the revival of transportation in any form. The petition in a short time was signed by over 35,000 persons (more than two-thirds of the population of the metropolis). There was no resisting this manifestation of public opinion, and the pro-transportation members temporarily withdrew from the Council, whereupon the motion just mentioned was carried unanimously, and the address to the Queen was accordingly transmitted. The Order in Council was revoked, and transportation to New South Wales was thus, after many years of fretful agitation, absolutely and finally abolished. The discovery of gold

which shortly followed gave a new impetus to Australian society, and by developing the industry and wealth of the country rendered a return to the "prison time" for ever impossible.

The first agitation for the formation of the Port Phillip district into a separate colony took place towards the close of Governor Gipps' administration, and the claim of the trans-Murray residents to govern themselves was ably advocated by Dr. Lang, one of the six members returned by the district since known as the Colony of Victoria. The entire population of what is now known as New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland did not, at that period, exceed 150,000, of which the Port Phillip district contributed only 30,000. Their distance from the seat of government, nevertheless, justified the demand of the Victorians for separation, which was conceded in 1851, to their great permanent benefit. A few years subsequently, on the 1st December, 1859, New South Wales was again dismembered, losing its northern province, which was constituted a separate colony, under the name of Queensland.

The discovery of gold in 1851 was by far the most important event which had yet occurred in the annals of the country. For many years previous to 1851 it was known that small quantities of gold had been found in the Bathurst district, and a colonist offered, during the administration of Sir George Gipps, to conduct the Government surveyors to a spot where he said gold existed in payable quantities. The project was, however, discouraged. The colony was at that time enjoying a period of great prosperity, the depression of previous years having been successfully tided over; and it was probably thought unadvisable by the authorities to disturb

the settled industries of the colony, by the incitement to speculation which the gold fever would generate.

A few years passed away, and the recollection of the supposed gold discoveries was still fresh in men's minds. The prosperous days with which Governor Gipps' administration closed gave place to less fortunate times. Wages were low and work scarce, when suddenly the tale of the gold discovery was on every tongue. In the early part of 1851 nuggets began to arrive in Sydney. They had been found in the vicinity of Bathurst, and their inspection by the public raised a wave of excitement, which affected all classes. It is not surprising that the prospect of amassing a fortune in a few months—which seemed indisputable from the presence of so many specimens of gold—should have induced hundreds of people of all ranks to abandon their employments, and set out for Bathurst. Nor could news of such a nature be confined within the colony, and before many months had elapsed, the presence of gold in Australia was known all over the world. Then followed a mighty rush, from every quarter of the globe, of the most enterprising spirits, and those physically the most capable of enduring the unknown hardships before them, a circumstance on which Australians in the future will have occasion to congratulate themselves, for the splendid physique of the early colonists, already manifested in their sons and daughters, must undoubtedly become the inheritance of succeeding generations.

The effect produced on society by this most fortunate discovery was unpleasant enough at first. Stations throughout the colony were left without hands, and all ordinary occupations were threatened

with extinction, in consequence of the general exodus to the gold-fields. The squatters even petitioned the Government asking that martial law might be proclaimed, and all gold-digging peremptorily prohibited, in order that the regular industrial pursuits of the country should not be interfered with. The Governor, however, refused to accede to this manifestly absurd request. So great a change in the circumstances of the country as that wrought in so short a time by the gold discovery could not fail to affect many persons prejudicially. But after a few years affairs resumed their normal course, and gold-mining found its level as one of the ordinary industries of the country. The great and permanent benefit which resulted from the influx of an enterprising population, the increase of wealth, and the consequent development of many other industries, cannot be overrated. Nothing, since the introduction of wool-growing, has tended to develop its resources and to make so widely known the great advantages which Australia offers to the overcrowded populations of the Old World, as the discovery of gold in 1851. Since that era the country's progress has been by leaps and bounds, and Australia, which was before regarded as merely a far-off dependency of Great Britain, now takes a place amongst the nations of the world, and is in a fair way of realising the prophetic visions of future greatness which inspired its founders.

For several years before the discovery of gold there had been growing up among the colonists a strong desire for a large measure of self-government. The position of the colony as a Crown dependency was a galling one, especially when the population became so largely increased through the

outbreak of the gold-diggings. It was felt that the old system, which might have sufficed for the government of the people when their numbers were few, was quite unsuitable for so large a community as New South Wales had now become. Hence the agitation that had already been commenced in favour of a free constitution was continued with ever-increasing force.

In 1851 an act was passed by the Imperial Parliament (13 and 14 Vic., No. 39) in accordance with which the dependency of Victoria was erected into a separate colony, and provision was made to confer a constitution on New South Wales. The colony had, however, reached a stage when it was felt that its social conditions and increased responsibilities demanded a larger measure of political freedom than the Imperial Government at that time were willing to concede. The constitutions which had been framed for the colonies by the Imperial Parliament were not, however, expected to be lasting; it was intended to extend the principle of representation slowly and gradually, instead of granting it in full measure at a period when the country was not ripe for it. There can be no doubt that the Colonial Office was wiser than the colonists in this matter, and, in arranging that each local legislature should draw up the constitution for its own colony, it was ensuring, if not the best possible constitution, at least that which would prove the most acceptable to the colonists themselves. The intention of the home authorities was, however, greatly misunderstood; accordingly, when in 1852 a Select Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to prepare a constitution for the colony, the first result of its labours was the despatch of a remonstrance

to the Secretary of State, aimed not so much against the old form of government as against the amended form of constitution proposed to be conferred upon the colony by the Imperial Parliament. Wentworth and the other "patriots," as they were termed, were over-zealous and wished to anticipate by a few years the very constitution, the bestowal of which was actually meditated by the British Government. After much correspondence and the receipt of a despatch from the Secretary for the Colonies, Sir John Pakington, practically conceding all that the colonies demanded, a committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to draft the new Constitution. The committee comprised Messrs. W. C. Wentworth, E. Deas-Thomson, Charles Cowper, James Macarthur, Alexander Macleay, James Martin, Terence Aubrey Murray, Thurlow and Dr. Douglas.

To provide for the legislative assembly or lower chamber was an easy matter, and it was provided that there should be fifty-four members, the qualification for the franchise being fixed as follows: All inhabitants of full age being native-born or naturalised subjects of the British Crown, and not having been convicted of any crime—or, if convicted, pardoned—and having paid all rates and taxes for which they were liable, were placed in the condition precedent required for either voting or being elected to the Assembly, but they were required, in addition, to be qualified in the following respects: As the owner of a freehold estate of £100; as householders, lodging occupiers, or leaseholders for three years at £10 per annum. To these were added boarders at £40 per annum, persons receiving £100 a year salary, and pasture-license holders for

one year. Ministers of religion were declared incapable of being elected to the legislature. Subsequent alterations to the Constitution Act removed that restriction, and made the principle of universal manhood suffrage the basis of the electoral system of the colony, though non-resident property holders were also given the franchise under certain conditions. A still later amendment of the constitution established the principle of one man one vote, thus doing away with the property qualification so carefully established and strenuously advocated by the original framers of the constitution.

The composition of the Legislative Council was a much more difficult matter to settle. Several of the committee, as well as a large portion of the colonists, were in favour of an elective chamber, such as was afterwards adopted in Victoria, while limiting membership to those who possessed at least £5,000 worth of real property; but Wentworth, and some of his supporters, in their desire to copy the English Constitution in its absolute integrity, wished to have a House of Lords with an hereditary qualification. The Assembly was to represent the people as a whole; the Council was to watch over the interests of persons of superior wealth who were supposed to have a greater stake in the welfare of the country. Wentworth actually proposed that an hereditary nobility should be created, leaving the Crown to decide whether or not to give the first holders of a title a seat for life, and the aristocracy to be thus established should in future elect a certain number of their order, to form the higher branch of the legislature.

The publication of the aristocratic clause of the committee's report caused a great outcry in Syd-

ney, and the holding of two indignation meetings, at the latter of which the speakers included Messrs. Parkes, Flood, Denihey, Mort, Piddington, Robert Johnson, and Montefiore, and Archdeacon McEncroe. The outcry was so great that the clauses had to be abandoned, but though the aristocratic provisions of the measure were dropped, the principle of nominee membership to the Upper Chamber was retained. The bill was then strongly attacked by a considerable section of the public, on the ground that the members of the Legislative Council under the new constitution should be elected instead of being nominated by the Crown. But the nominee principle was considered essential by the framers of the bill for the purpose of reproducing the constitution of the British Parliament as closely as possible, and as a large majority of the Council shared these views the bill was passed as it stood, and power was given to the Governor to nominate persons to the new Legislative Council, which was to consist of not less than twenty-one members.

The framers of the constitution were anxious that the government of the country should still further resemble that of the British Isles by the adoption of the principle of responsible government. Up to that time the persons who administered the affairs of the colony were appointed either by the Governor or by the Secretary of State, and it was not to be supposed that such a condition of affairs could be continued under the new system, especially as the entire revenues of the colony were placed at the disposal of the parliament about to be created. To the constitution, with its dominant principle of responsible government, the British Government readily assented, and the constitution was formally

inaugurated by the Governor-General, Sir William Denison, on the 19th December, 1855. From that date New South Wales has been an imitation on a small scale of the United Kingdom, having an elective assembly corresponding to the House of Commons and a nominated Council, with the executive government responsible to parliament alone.

The first ministry under responsible government did not last long, but its membership is worthy of being recorded as marking the first great step in the establishment of self-government in the mother colony of Australia. The ministry comprised—Stuart Alexander Donaldson, Colonial Secretary; Thomas Holt, Colonial Treasurer; William Montagu Manning, Attorney-General; John Bayley Darvall, Solicitor-General; George Robert Nichols, Auditor-General; and William C. Mayne, Representative of the Government in the Legislative Council. Nichols was also Secretary for Lands and Works in the administration.

On the outbreak of war with Russia, the British Government found it necessary to press into their service every vessel capable of conveying troops and munitions of war to the Crimea. This had interrupted regular communication between England and Australia, but in 1855 communication was re-established, and the same year witnessed an event of even more importance, for on 26th September, five years after the first sod was turned, the railway line from Sydney to Paramatta was declared open for traffic and the first train steamed out of the Sydney terminus amid the shouts of the populace, who had assembled in thousands to witness the event.

On the 5th October, 1855, died at Sydney, Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, Surveyor-General of

the colony and the most successful of all the long line of Australian explorers. It is said that his end was hastened by grief at the ingratitude of the Government and at the slight which he considered had been put upon him in submitting to his juniors the question of his fitness to take charge of the work of railway construction then being undertaken by the Government. Mitchell was a soldier who had served with distinction in the Peninsular war, and his attainments as a scholar were of a high order. He was born in Stirlingshire, Scotland, on the 16th June, 1792. Shortly after Sir Thomas Mitchell's death another distinguished Australian passed away, namely, Rear Admiral Phillip Parker King, son of the third Governor of New South Wales. Admiral King's services to Australia are now well-nigh forgotten; but he did excellent work in connection with the maritime exploration of the continent, and his surveys are still famed for their accuracy and completeness.

The year 1857 was in many respects a most disastrous one for the colony. The Hunter and Hawkesbury River districts were visited by floods of extraordinary height and continuance. Much property was lost, houses swept away, cattle and horses drowned, and crops, both harvested and standing, were destroyed. Along the coast there were numerous shipwrecks, due to the violence of the storms which raged with more or less vehemence for three months. The deluge was, however, restricted in area, for in October of the same year, that is, only two months after the cessation of the floods in the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers, there was a drought of marked severity extending over a large area of the country, and which did not break up until the following February.

The annals of the year 1857 are marked by a still more tragic event—the loss of the ship *Dunbar* with 120 persons on board, only one of whom was saved. The passengers were for the most part colonists of standing, who were returning to their homes after visiting the land of their birth. The unfortunate event took place on the 20th August at the "Gap," a break in the cliffs quite close to the South Head of Sydney Harbour. About two months after the tragedy of the *Dunbar* the *Catherine Adamson* was driven ashore near the inner North Head, and twenty-one lives were lost. The loss of the *Dunbar* was certainly due to the defective lighting of the entrance to the port and led to the construction of efficient lighthouses more worthy than the old ones to mark the entrance to Port Jackson.

The anniversary of the foundation of the colony (26th January, 1858) was chosen as the occasion for opening the electric telegraph line from Sydney to Liverpool, a distance of twenty-two miles. This was the first line in use in the colony. Money for the construction of public works was not plentiful, and in many ways New South Wales lagged behind the recently established colony of Victoria. The construction of a line from Sydney to Melbourne had been talked about as far back as 1845, but it was not until the end of the year 1858 that the connection was actually completed.

Ever since the discovery of gold the state of ferment into which the population was thrown was so great that any rumour of a "find" was sufficient to attract large numbers to the place where the gold was said to be. These rushes were small or large according to the persistence of the rumours, or the luck of the persons first on the field. Towards the

middle of 1858 the discovery of a rich field in Queensland was reported. The find was made at Canoona, a cattle station situated some seven miles distant from the present town of Rockhampton. The extent of the discovery was greatly exaggerated, but large numbers of persons were attracted from the southern colonies, especially from Victoria and New South Wales. Kepple Bay, which had hitherto been visited only by occasional coasters, became a port of importance, and a town sprang up like magic at the scene of the rush. In a few months ten thousand miners, with the attendant population usually found at a gold rush, were on the field. The Canoona diggings, though its fame was noised abroad, had but a short life. Years afterwards very great quantities of gold were obtained within a radius of thirty miles, but at the time of the so-called Port Curtis rush, the payable gold found was confined to a small area, which was speedily worked out, and no new discoveries were made. The plight of the unfortunate miners was pitiable. Starvation stared them in the face, and the governments of Victoria and New South Wales were compelled to intervene and remove the utterly stranded to their homes in the south. But the change did not provide them with work, and the wretchedness of some of those brought to Sydney was so extreme that the Government was compelled to grant them further assistance. In time many of the men drifted back to the older gold-fields, and a series of small finds in various parts of the colony and the important discoveries at Burrangong relieved the strain upon the government at Sydney and left it free to attend to the necessities of the new-born parliamentary system.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROBERTSON LANDS ACTS AND THE CHINESE TROUBLE.

THE people of the colony, or rather their parliamentary representatives, did not readily adapt themselves to the system of responsible government introduced in 1856. The first two years were filled with legislative strife, and it did not seem possible to form a stable administration from the material available. The first, or Donaldson, Ministry survived three months, and its successor, the first Cowper Ministry, did not last even as long. The Parker Ministry, which followed that of Cowper, fell after a term of eleven months, so that within the first sixteen months of responsible government there were three ministries, and the opportunity for legislation afforded even to the one with the most lengthened existence was therefore very small. The fourth Ministry—the second of Charles Cowper—had the comparatively long life of two years, during which it was instrumental in passing a reform measure establishing greater electoral equality. The number of members of the Assembly was increased to 78 and the franchise extended to every adult male who had resided in the colony for not less than six months, and, what was even more important, the principle of vote by ballot was adopted. The new parliament elected under the reform measure met in 1859. The following year saw the Legislature set-

ting aside the sum of £3,000 towards the relief of the sufferers from the destructive floods which afflicted the colony in the early part of 1860, but the country was relieved of the support of the miners and others made destitute by the failure of the Port Curtis "rush," alluded to in the previous chapter, as the gold-fields recently discovered were able to absorb all the miners needing employment. There was, however, not much life in the old-established industries, the pastoral industry in particular being greatly affected by the outbreak amongst cattle of an infectious disease called, from its place of origin, the Cumberland disease. This was long the dread of stockholders and was not stamped out without great loss and the expenditure of much money.

Sir William Denison's period of office terminated in January, 1861. He was the last of the administrators of the old type, and had found it hard to adapt himself to the rôle of a constitutional Governor. Denison's last official act of importance was one which gave rise to strong adverse criticism both in Parliament and in the press. John Tawell, a man of considerable landed property in the colony, had been found guilty of the murder of a woman with whom he had had illicit relations; he was condemned to death and executed. The crime and its punishment occurred in England and created a great sensation. In ordinary course the property of the murderer would have been forfeited, but the friends of Tawell's widow had sufficient influence to have his lands put in trust for the benefit of Mrs. Tawell and her children. The trustees selected as their agent in New South Wales, George Cooper Turner, the Civil Crown Solicitor, who disposed of the property and levanted with the proceeds of the sale. The

influence behind Mrs. Tawell was sufficiently strong to induce the Secretary of State to take the extraordinary course of instructing the Governor of New South Wales to make a re-grant to the heirs of Tawell. The Governor demurred to this at first, but his instructions were peremptory, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Ministry and against the advice of the law officers of the Government, Sir William Denison had the re-grant drawn up by a private solicitor. To make the document effective it was necessary that the great seal of the colony should be affixed to it. Accordingly, the Governor asked the Colonial Secretary for the seal; this he refused to deliver and at the same time to continue in office; the Governor was insistent, and the Ministry resigned, and the Great Seal coming into the hands of the Governor it was affixed to the re-grant and the transaction completed. Sir William Denison was on the eve of leaving for India, and having gained his point he requested the Ministry to withdraw their resignation, and on fully considering their position they did so, as it was obviously improper that the colony should be thrown, at such a time, into the turmoil of a political crisis. The affair created a great deal of discussion and was the subject of a motion in Parliament, but the matter was dropped, as Sir William Denison was out of reach of censure and the Ministry had taken the only constitutional course open to them.

During Denison's term of office the Rev. Samuel Marsden died at the age of ninety-four years. He had left England when he was about twenty-five years of age, and had spent the best part of seventy years in the colony. He was originally a blacksmith, but had become an ordained clergyman of

the Church of England. The necessities of pioneer life in Australia required that he should also be a magistrate and a farmer, and by choice Marsden became a missionary both in New Zealand and in New South Wales. No one has claimed for him any great talent except for organisation, but no one has denied to him the praise due to indomitable energy, singleness of purpose and strong missionary zeal.

On the 10th December, 1859, the northern part of New South Wales was erected into a separate colony under the name of Queensland, the Royal Letters Patent creating the new colony being issued on the preceding 13th May. The colonists in the old settled districts were greatly opposed to the separation, as was also the Parliament of New South Wales. The Governor, Sir William Denison, strongly advised his superiors against the step, but without avail, as the policy of the Colonial Office at that time favoured the dismemberment of the large colonies. Time has shown that the Colonial Office was wiser than the local parliament, for the separation of Victoria and Queensland has been for the manifest benefit of these important provinces.

Sir William Denison was succeeded by Sir John Young, afterwards raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Lisgar. He was a man of distinguished talent, but his tenure of office occurred at a time when it was not possible for him to use his intellectual qualifications to any great advantage, as the position of the Governor with a Ministry responsible to Parliament does not call for the exercise of much originality.

At this time the men who shaped the destinies of the colony during the next quarter of a century were beginning to take their proper position in the eyes

of the country. Among these men was Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Robertson. He had entered Parliament on the establishment of responsible government, and in his address to the electors he had declared in favour of manhood suffrage and equal electoral divisions, vote by ballot, abolition of state aid to religion, national education and free selection of public lands before survey. Robertson soon had an opportunity of testing the feeling of Parliament in regard to the last mentioned subject. The Parker Ministry had introduced a bill dealing with the sale and occupation of Crown lands, and he proposed new clauses providing for "free selection over the public lands of the colony surveyed and unsurveyed." This meant the introduction of a principle entirely novel in the land legislation of the country, and Robertson's amendment was defeated, whereupon he moved that the bill be considered that day six months. There were provisions in the bill obnoxious to the grazing interests, and the squatting representatives supported Robertson's motion, which was carried and the bill was lost. Robertson, however, supported the Government in their proposal to increase the rent of runs, as the grazing leases were called, but this proposal was also defeated. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Cowper came into office for the second time on the 7th November, 1857, and on the retirement of one of his colleagues he offered the post of Secretary for Lands and Works to Mr. Robertson, who accordingly took office on the 13th January, 1858. One of the new minister's first acts was to issue regulations which, amongst other things, provided that all future pastoral leases were to be issued subject to whatever conditions Parliament might impose; the object aimed at being to make

certain that when legislation regarding the conditional sale of lands came to be made, the area leased subsequent to the date of the Robertson regulations (22d February, 1858) would be open to free selection. The Cowper Ministry were instrumental in passing several useful measures, but before being able to give effect to their land policy they were defeated and surrendered their offices. The Foster Ministry succeeded. The Land Policy of the new Government was embodied in a bill which proposed to grant the right of selecting land to any applicant, but such selection was to be confined to certain proclaimed areas. The bill was, however, not proceeded with, as the Government, being defeated in an attempt to make the Legislative Council elective, resigned after holding office for a little over four months. Mr. Cowper not being a member of the Legislative Assembly when the Foster Ministry fell, Mr. Robertson was called upon to form a Ministry, and his former chief took office under him. The first business of the new administration was the introduction of a Crown Lands Alienation Bill, the main principle of which was "free selection before survey," which was in effect the right of any person to select for purchase a portion of land in any part of the country, provided such land had not already been granted or sold by the Crown or reserved for special purposes; the area purchasable by any individual being limited to 320 acres. The proposal was bitterly opposed by the squatting party whose runs, hitherto practically secured by the terms of their lease, were now to be left open to the inroads of others wishing to take up land in small areas. Debates in the Legislative Assembly were long and heated and the Ministry were defeated and appealed

to the people. The country everywhere supported the Ministry, which in the new Parliament had a commanding majority, and its Lands Bill was passed with little opposition. In the Legislative Council the opponents of "free selection" mustered very strongly, and the verdict of the people was likely to be defeated. In this extremity the Ministry advised Sir John Young to swamp the Council and the Governor accepted the advice tendered. The proceeding was, however, ill-advised, as the term for which the Members of the Council had been appointed was about to expire, and it would be within the power of the Governor, with the advice of the Cabinet, when renewing the Council, to appoint only such persons as were known to be favourable to the Land policy approved of by the people. The Council were deeply affronted at the course contemplated by the Government, and though the new members were actually appointed they did not take the seats. Sir William Burton, the President of the Council, at the first meeting after the "swamping," rose and deliberately left the Chamber, followed by the Members, so that the new appointees could not be sworn in. The Council did not meet again, and the passage of the Land Bill had perforce to be deferred until a new Council could be formed.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th May, 1861, and the Governor and his advisers had to face the very difficult task of forming a new Legislative Council. The Premier, Mr. Cowper, naturally turned for aid to Mr. William Charles Wentworth, the author of the Constitution, and Wentworth accepted the position of President of the Council, the other twenty-six Members were carefully selected, and the choice of the Governor gave general satis-

faction. Parliament was called together on the 3d September, 1861, and the formal business being disposed of, two Bills embodying the Agrarian Policy of the Government were introduced. These were the Crown Lands Occupation Bill and the Crown Lands Alienation Bill. An attempt was made to defeat the principle of free selection before survey, but it failed, as both Houses were overwhelmingly in favour of the new policy, and the two bills were pressed through Parliament and became law.

The new principles of Land Legislation embodied in the Robertson Lands Acts were in a certain sense due to the development of ideas in a community which, with little success, had tried various other modes of settling the people on the soil; free selection before survey would not have been conceded by the older class of settlers if any less sweeping measure could have been devised. But another important factor was at work. The population brought to the colony by the discovery of gold was, however, a class entirely different to the old settlers, and with them came new ideas. They were accustomed to roam over the whole territory, seeking for the precious metal, and, by a natural process of reasoning, they arrived at the determination that those amongst them who wished to purchase land from the State, should have the same freedom of selection as was allowed to the gold digger.

The New Agrarian Legislation was intended to benefit the men of small means, and its authors talked very confidently about the future yeoman population, who would possess the bulk of the land. The actual results achieved fell far short of these anticipations, and there were many gross abuses due

to the Act and its administration, but for twenty years it remained the law of the land. The main principles of the Acts of 1861 have been greatly modified by subsequent legislation, but for all that, there can be no doubt that the effects of this legislation have on the whole been beneficial to the country, and no other system would have so adequately met the requirements of the country at the time the Robertson Acts were passed.

The country was in the mood for democratic legislation, a circumstance due to no slight extent to the leavening influence of the gold diggers, who were as a class essentially democratic, and several important measures found their way through Parliament.

The gold-fields had drawn away from the rural industries, as well as from the towns, a large portion of the best class of labour, and there was urgent need of additional population. Parliament recognised the situation by voting a sum of £5,000, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the population of Great Britain and Ireland to the advantages offered by the colony to persons of energy, even to those without capital. It was determined to appoint two lecturers and immigration agents, to proceed to the Mother Country for the purpose indicated, and the choice of the Government fell upon Mr. (afterward Sir) Henry Parkes and Mr. W. B. Dalley—opposite types of men, but both well qualified for their missions.

Allusion has already been made to the effect which the discovery of gold at Burrangong had upon relieving the distress consequent upon the unsuccessful “rush” to Port Curtis in Queensland. The Burrangong or Lambing flat gold-field proved to be remark-

ably rich, and amongst those attracted to it were some hundreds of Chinese. European and Chinese miners have rarely agreed upon mining fields and Burrangong was no exception. The Chinese were accused of "picking the eyes" out of the field, which was another way of saying that so far as regards the faculty of discovering places likely to contain gold, the Chinese were superior to the whites. There were no charges that could be made against the Chinese, which could not with justice be made against an equal number of Europeans, and the disturbance was therefore purely a racial one, the forerunner of many another of the same kind. The feeling against the Chinese found vent in public meetings at which very fiercely worded resolutions were passed. From mere words the miners proceeded to action. After one of these public meetings at which the question was raised, "whether Burrangong was a European or a Chinese territory," the crowd, with the band playing and threatening shouts, rushed the quarters of the unfortunate Chinese, who fled panic-stricken. Some tents were burned and a drunken man galloped wildly through the camp knocking down several of the aliens as they fled. The drunken rioter was stopped by the police and locked up. For a while the mob acquiesced, but subsequently demanded his release. The police were only eight in number and, according to the police estimates, the miners numbered from 4,000 to 5,000, and the authorities were obliged to give way. The Gold Commissioners, who at an earlier period of the riot cautioned the miners against the use of violence, submitted to the farce of releasing the culprit on substantial bail being forthcoming, which was not long in being found. Next day the rioter appeared be-

fore the Commissioner, who was also a magistrate, and after being reprimanded for his offence was discharged without further punishment.

The Europeans were not disposed to let the matter rest without gaining their point—viz., the expulsion of the Chinese. They formed a Miners' Protective League, with the twofold object of maintaining order on the field, and of expelling the obnoxious alien. The field was in the hands of the Miners' League, which had practically superseded the regular government; and when the authorities in Sydney became aware of the condition of affairs at Burrangong, they at once despatched fifty mounted men to the field. This force proved entirely inadequate to quell the disturbances. The ill-usage of the Chinese continued; their claims were jumped and many of them were without the means of procuring food. The resources of the Government, for the suppression of an outbreak of rioting in a place so far from the seat of government, were small, but to the fifty troopers already sent were added about twenty others. Fortunately there were Imperial troops available, and 130 officers and men of the 12th Regiment, as well as forty-four of the Royal Artillery, with two twelve-pound field-pieces, were sent to the scene of the disturbances. The situation was explained by the Premier, Mr. Charles Cowper, to the Legislative Assembly, and as there was a difficulty regarding the delegation of authority, it was announced that the Premier would go to Burrangong and endeavour to settle matters. Mr. Cowper left Sydney on the 27th February, or four days after the despatch of the troops, and on the following day Mr. John Robertson, in a temperate address, explained to Parliament the intentions of the Government. The prin-

ples of law and order would be maintained and maintained at any cost. Extreme measures would not be taken unless they were necessary for the preservation of the public peace, but the Government would be above all things moderate, causes of irritation would be avoided as well as anything calculated to provoke the miners to violence, and the affair would be settled without bloodshed, if such were possible.

Mr. Cowper on his arrival at Burrangong addressed the miners, and was cordially received; a day or two afterwards he spoke at Stoney Creek. His words were to the same effect as those uttered by Mr. Robertson in his place in Parliament, but the Premier added that when order was restored, and affairs were in a normal condition, the whole situation could be reviewed, and the miners afforded such satisfaction and redress as the circumstances seemed to warrant. The Premier returned to Sydney almost immediately. His wise action in visiting the scene of the riots had prompt effect in quelling the disturbances and preventing a repetition of the unfortunate affair of the Eureka Stockade. The Chinese took advantage of the calm to slip away to other fields or to abandoned diggings, and an important find of gold being reported at Tipperary Gully, a large proportion of the miners at Burrangong abandoned their claims for the new fields, and the few Chinese left behind remained unmolested. Thus ended the most serious difficulty that arose in the early days of responsible government.

There had been a Chinese difficulty in Victoria, which had been met by the passing of an Act materially restricting the freedom of these Asiatics in entering the colony, and the New South Wales Government took the Victorian legislation as a model,

and introduced a Bill embodying its main principles. No vessel was allowed to carry more than one Chinese for every ten tons of the ship's tonnage under a penalty of £10 imposed upon the owner, master or charterer for each Chinese passenger in excess. There was also a tax of £10 to be paid by each Chinese landing, as well as a license or poll of £4 per annum during his residence in the colony; added to this there was prohibition of naturalisation. The Bill was somewhat amended in the Council and became law on the 27th November, 1861. The Chinese question in 1861 arose out of a settled dislike for all coloured races on the part of the mining population; in subsequent years there was a revival of agitation, but in it the share of the miners was small, as the Chinese were no longer their formidable competitors. Having disposed of the Chinese question the Government revived their gold-fields Bill, which had been dropped owing to the paramount importance of passing their Land legislation. The Bill thus revived was speedily passed into law.

Two important matters closely allied next monopolised the attention of Parliament. These were the question of Church and School Lands and of State aid to religion. Sir Thomas Brisbane, who was Governor from 1821 to 1825, had received instructions from London to reserve one-seventh of the Crown lands in each country, for the purpose of Church and Schools' establishments. These instructions were not fully carried out, but reservations to the extent of 454,060 acres had been made. These lands had been administered by the Clergy and School Lands Corporation, until that body was abolished in 1833, when the lands became vested in the Crown. In the early sixties, these lands had become

valuable, and the question of ownership was revived, and party feeling ran very high. The Government had appropriated the revenue from these lands, without the sanction of Parliament; it was contended that this was improper and contrary to the constitution, and that the money should be treated as ordinary revenue and appropriated only by a vote of Parliament. There were many fierce debates about the matter, but no satisfactory solution was arrived at, and ultimately the determination of the matter was taken up by the Imperial Government. On the 28th May, 1862, the Government laid before the Legislative Assembly a copy of the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in England, respecting the Church and School Estates. This opinion was to the effect that these lands were not waste lands of the Crown, being dedicated for a particular purpose —viz., the promotion of religion and the education of youth. In sending the despatch to the Legislature, the Governor pointed out that the disposal of these lands was a matter for the determination of the local Legislature and the Crown had no wish to interfere, farther than to see that due respect was paid to the interests already acquired by individuals. The status of these estates having been thus determined, much of the interest in their disposal died out and attention was directed to the questions of State aid to religion. Under the law then existing, salaries were paid to the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, and of the Roman Catholic Church and the Clergy of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan Churches. This was repugnant to the feelings of a large number of persons, not only of the denominations not subsidised, but of those actually in receipt of State aid, and several attempts were made to

abolish all grants in aid of religion. There were, however, very strong advocates of a continuation of the system, and most persons having vested interests were opposed to any change. The matter was settled by a compromise. The "grants in aid of the Public Worship Prohibition Bill" was passed towards the end of 1862; it continued their stipends to all clergymen then in receipt of State aid, but prohibited any further payment by the State for the maintenance of religion or public worship. In 1863, the payments to clergymen were £32,726 and the number of clergymen 161; in 1899 there were still thirty-six persons receiving State aid whose annual stipend amounted to £5,863.

The principle of a nominee Legislative Council had never found general acceptance, and even Wentworth, to whose influence the establishment of the Council on a nominee basis was largely due, had come round to the opposite opinion and favoured an elective House.

But the President was unable to win the Council to the adoption of his views, and when the Bill, for the reconstruction of the Council on an elective basis, reached that body it was shelved by being referred to Select Committee; which at the close of the session brought up progress report to the effect that they had discussed the question, but had not had time to mature their views. Wentworth very shortly afterwards resigned his position as President of the Council, and was succeeded by Sir Terence Aubrey Murray, who was at the time Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

At the suggestion of Sir Dominic Daly, the Governor of South Australia, a conference of delegates from New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia

and Tasmania met in Melbourne in March, 1863, to discuss certain matters of common interest to the various colonies. The views of the conference were embodied in a series of resolutions of a practical kind, but like the resolutions passed at many another conference on Australian affairs, they met with but scant consideration at the hands of the various legislatures.

CHAPTER VI.

BUSHRANGING EPOCH.—THE O'FARRELL CASE.

HIGHWAY robbery is invariably practised in young countries where communication is difficult and means of transit restricted. To the natural facilities for highway robbery in New South Wales and Tasmania was added in the early years of settlement a large convict element, many members of which were adepts at all kinds of villainy, and some at least were highwaymen in England, before being transported to Australia. The bush gangs of the early days were constantly recruited by the addition of escaped prisoners, and ticket-of-leave men tired of the surveillance to which they were subjected as long as they remained in the settlements. As early as 1830 the evil became so great that the whole community was pervaded by a feeling of general alarm, and the Legislative Council passed a "Bushranging Act" almost unique in its severity. The bushrangers, who were chiefly escaped convicts, plied their nefarious trade sometimes in twos and threes, sometimes in large gangs, levying toll not only on isolated settlers, but on stores and hotels along the more frequented roads. Sometimes even the police were attacked. On one occasion a regular battle was fought between a gang of bushrangers over fifty in number and a party of settlers. This occurred at Campbell's River near Bathurst. The same gang attacked the police and killed several of them; rein-

forcement were sent and another engagement took place on the River Lachlan, but with no decisive result. The matter was so serious that a detachment of Imperial troops was sent up from Sydney, to which the whole gang surrendered, and ten of them were hanged. To prevent a recurrence of outrages such as these the Bushranging Act was passed. Amongst other things it provided that all suspected persons might be apprehended without a warrant; that any one carrying arms might be arrested, and any one suspected of having them might be searched; that armed with general warrants to search, the police might enter or break into any house by day or night, seize firearms found therein and arrest the inmates. When convicted, robbers and house-breakers were to be condemned to death and executed on the third day thereafter. These provisions were vigorously enforced and bushranging disappeared almost immediately, and at a convenient season the Act was repealed. The elements of the bushranging class were in the colony, and the conditions of settlement favoured a revival of the pest. A few years after the events just referred to, on the 7th September, 1834, Dr. Wardell, a prominent citizen and politician, was killed in his own grounds at Petersham near Sydney. One of the gang of bushrangers turned King's evidence, and two of the murderers were tried, convicted and executed. There were other crimes of a like kind, but no general revival of bushranging until about the year 1840. The previous year had been one of crop failure, and provisions were dear, and there was considerable destitution. Mr. John Kennedy Hume, a well-known colonist, was shot dead by bushrangers at Gunning; the chief of the gang was caught and exe-

cuted. The bushrangers in the district had become so numerous and daring, that Mr. Henry O'Brien, a magistrate of Yass, being joined by a number of settlers, made an effort to rid themselves of the offenders. Mr. O'Brien's party coming up with the bushrangers, a fierce encounter ensued; the chief of the gang was shot, and another having been wounded blew his brains out. Two of the bushrangers were captured, one hanged himself in his cell and the other was executed. A determined gang of ruffians, headed by a man named Davis, and known as the Jewboy's gang, were destroyed by a party of settlers led by Mr. Day. The band was surprised at Doughboy Hollow near the town of Murrurundi, and the leader and five others were captured and brought to justice.

For a time the country was free from systematic bushranging, but after the gold discoveries there was a recrudescence of the pest in its worst form. The evil kept on increasing, and in 1862 and 1863 it became a menace to the colony, so many bushrangers were there abroad, and so many aiders and abettors had they in secret. The Government felt called upon to take special measures to cope with the evil, and notice was sent to the country magistrates instructing them that all offences connected with bushranging would thereafter be tried by Special Commission, and rewards were offered for the apprehension of the leading outlaws. The police force was also strengthened and suspected persons were kept under observation. The trial by a Special Commission prevented sympathisers obtaining a position on the jury, by which the captured bushrangers would be tried, and was a necessary step, as in some districts to obtain a conviction by a local

jury would have been impossible. Amongst the first cases tried were those of Alexander and Charles Ross and William O'Connor, who were found guilty of robbery under arms and firing at and wounding Mr. Henry Stephens. The three were sentenced to death. A few days later a public-house kept by a man named Cirkel was "stuck up" by four bushrangers. The landlord was deliberately murdered by one of the gang, named O'Meally, because he was suspected of having given the police information in regard to the movements of the bushrangers. This gang was one of the most infamous that ever infested the bush. The four concerned in Cirkel's robbery and murder were Frank Gardiner, Johnnie Gilbert, John Dunn and the ruffian O'Meally. Gardiner, the leader of the gang, was a man about thirty years of age, and had been sentenced, when a mere youth, to five years' imprisonment for horse-stealing in Victoria. He was confined in Pentridge, from which he escaped after serving only a few months of his sentence. Coming to New South Wales he speedily got into trouble, being convicted on two separate charges of horse-stealing and sentenced to seven years' hard labour. He was released before the expiry of his sentence and obtained a ticket-of-leave, which he forfeited for being absent from his district, it being strongly suspected that he was engaged in cattle-stealing. He was not arrested, and appeared shortly afterwards at the head of a gang of ruffians whose violence terrorised the inhabitants of a large and thriving district. The robberies of Gardiner's gang were very numerous. They were known to have "bailed up" six mail-coaches from which they obtained large booty, while the robbery of scores of travellers on the public highway is also laid to their charge. Johnnie Gil-

bert, one of Gardiner's gang, was in years a mere boy. Born of respectable parents, he took to bushranging not from criminal instinct, but because, like hundreds of the bush lads, he looked upon the bushranger as a hero of romance. Besides the three concerned with Gardiner in the shooting of Cirkel there were several other members of the gang—viz., Ben Hall, John Bow, John Piesley, Alexander Fordyce, Henry Manns and Daniel Charters. Piesley was caught after a short career, tried and executed for murder in 1862, and Charters turned informer. There was a great deal of spurious public sympathy with Hall, who was an undoubted ruffian. He was originally a small squatter in the Lachlan district, but for years he was suspected of being an accomplice of Gardiner, with whom he was known to be on friendly terms. The constant surveillance of the police, joined with the reported infidelity of his wife, made him desperate, and he openly joined the gang, and became the most daring and reckless of them all. When Gardiner abandoned bushranging and left the colony, "Ben" Hall, as he was always called, became chief of the bushrangers.

The most remarkable robbery of this gang was that of the gold escort from the Lachlan. This took place at Engowra on the 15th June, 1862. The coach was driven by John Fagan and was escorted by three police. The bushrangers concerned in the affray were eight in number; they lay in wait for the escort at a difficult point in the road, and as the coach drove up they fired a volley, then making a rush they were able to disarm the police and make them prisoners. During the affray one of the police was severely wounded. The booty obtained by the bushrangers was over 5,500 ounces of gold, valued

at £21,000, besides coin and bank-notes to the value of £7,490. This was divided into eight parts, five were allotted at once, and the other three parts were placed on a packhorse and the gang rode off. When news of the outrage reached the police, a well-equipped party started in pursuit, and the pack-horses of the bushrangers becoming exhausted at the foot of the Weddin Mountains, the police were able to come up before the gang were able to remove their plunder. The spoil recovered at that time amounted to 1,239 ounces, but 200 ounces were subsequently obtained on the person of Manns, one of the gang who was shortly after arrested. Besides Manns, three others—Fordyce, Bow and John McGuire—were also captured, and the four men were tried by Special Commission. Their trial afforded a striking instance of the difficulty in obtaining the conviction of undoubtedly guilty persons, where their crime was bushranging or horse or cattle stealing. After three days' trial the jury failed to agree, and were consequently discharged and a new jury empanelled, and Manns, Fordyce and Bow were found guilty and sentenced to death. Fordyce's sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and, before the death sentence on the other two men could be carried into effect, a number of petitions containing some 15,000 or 16,000 signatures was received by the Governor, praying that the lives of Bow and Manns might also be spared. The prayer of the petitioners was acceded to in Bow's case, but Manns was executed.

The bushranging evil had become so great that every available policeman in the colony was sent to the infested districts, and very large rewards were offered for the capture of any member of the gang,

dead or alive. Many civilians also joined in the pursuit, and to their prowess was due the end of several of the desperadoes. Mr. Robert Lowe shot Heather, Mr. Keightly killed Burke and Mr. David Campbell shot O'Meally. There were many other encounters in which civilians behaved with great gallantry, while the police were ever on the alert. In spite of the continued efforts of the Government the work of suppressing bushranging was very slow; indeed it was years after the disappearance of the chief actors that the evil entirely disappeared.

Gardiner, the ringleader of the principal gang and the organiser of the most daring raids, growing tired of the life, escaped into the neighbouring colony of Queensland and opened a store on the road from Rockhampton to the Peak Downs, and successfully carried on business for two years. He was captured by the merest chance: his description had appeared in most of the local papers and the casual perusal of an old newspaper led to his identification. Gardiner was brought to Sydney, tried on various charges of robbery under arms and wounding with intent, and, being found guilty, received sentences amounting to thirty-two years. He served but ten years of his sentence, being released upon strong pressure being brought to bear on the Governor of the day.

On the retirement of Gardiner, his place at the head of the gang was taken by Ben Hall, under whose leadership many outrages were committed. One of the most daring was the sticking up of the Gundagai mail, when Gilbert shot Sergeant Parry, who, deserted by his companion, attempted to defend his charge. This was one of the last affrays with which Gilbert was connected. Accompanied by

Dunn, Gilbert took refuge one night at the home-stead of a farmer, who, without losing any time, sent word to the police. Three constables hastened to the scene and engaged the bushrangers, who endeavoured to escape. Dunn was able to get away, but Gilbert was shot by the police. At the time of his death the young outlaw was only twenty-three years of age. Dunn was captured later on the Marthaguy Creek; he resisted arrest and shot one of his captors and was himself wounded. He was afterwards tried in Sydney, and being convicted was executed.

Ben Hall grew tired of the reverses of his gang, and determined to follow Gardiner's example and leave the colony. Having separated from Gilbert and Dunn, he made preparations for his departure. He applied to a relative to whom he had entrusted the proceeds of some of his numerous robberies, but the man was unwilling to give up the plunder, and on pretence of going to the town of Forbes to draw the money from the bank in which he said it was deposited, the relative informed the police of the bushranger's hiding-place. The place was surrounded, and the following morning when Ben Hall unsuspectingly quitted his concealment, he was fired on by the police and his body riddled with bullets, not less than thirty-four wounds being counted. There was a reward of £1,000 on the head of Ben Hall; half the sum was given to the informer and half was divided amongst the police by whom he was shot down. Hall's death occurred on May 5th, 1865, about a week before Gilbert met his end.

While Hall and his crew were disturbing the country in the vicinity of Forbes a still greater ruffian than any who had yet appeared was troubling the districts nearer the Victorian border. This was

Daniel Morgan. His murderous exploits were most daring and are unequalled in the annals of Australian crime. His depredations extended over three years, and were not confined to New South Wales, for, in April, 1866, he made a raid into Victorian territory, where he was shot and killed, as he was about to leave Peechelba Station near Wangaratta, which he had "stuck up" the previous day. Morgan's death occurred in April, 1865, and the whole colony seemed relieved when the terrible outlaw's end became known.

Shortly before the dispersion of the Ben Hall gang, an outbreak of bushranging of a very formidable character occurred in the Yass, Braidwood and Manaro districts. The brothers John and Thomas Clarke were the principals, and they were aided by a large body of sympathisers, spies and bush telegraphs. The Clarkes belonged to a noted family of horse and cattle thieves, and had a criminal history before they appeared before the country as highwaymen.

Together and separately they kept the whole country in which they operated in a state of terror. Their murders were numerous, and some of them most wanton. The Government seemed powerless to stop their career of crime, and the offer of certain special constables to effect their arrest was gladly accepted. The special constables were Carroll, Phegan, McDonnell and Kennagh, and were sent to Jindera, at which place it was known that the Clarkes were being harboured. The unfortunate constables were foully murdered, but it has never been disclosed by what means or by whom the deed was done; but there can be hardly any doubt that the murderers were the Clarkes, but it is impro-

able that in this crime they were unaided. The Government proclaimed a reward of £5,000 for information leading to the arrest of the persons concerned in the murder of the four constables, but without response. Some months subsequently the two Clarkes were arrested by the police after a severe encounter and, having been tried and convicted, were hanged at Sydney on the 25th June, 1867.

With the disposal of the Clarkes bushranging on a large scale disappeared from New South Wales, but it was several years before the pest was completely stamped out. During the seven years that bushranging was most prevalent, over thirty police were wounded in the execution of their duty, and many of them died of their wounds. A large number of civilians were also wounded, and the murders of some twelve are on record, but it is probable there were others not discovered. Twenty-three bushrangers were either shot or hanged during the same period.

The attention of Parliament had been early directed to the evil, for on the 19th August, 1863, Mr. James Martin, afterwards Chief-Judge of the colony, moved, "That in the opinion of this House the alarming state of insecurity for life and property, which has so long prevailed throughout the country districts, is in a high degree discreditable to Her Majesty's Ministers in this colony, and secondly, that the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers in this colony in the appointments, to the magistracy, and generally in connection with the administration of justice had been such as to call for the strong condemnation of this House." The motion was not and did not deserve to be carried, but it truly expressed the prevailing opinion in regard to the state

of the country. The Government and the police were not to blame. The police were few in numbers, but on almost every occasion on which they met bushrangers, they behaved with great gallantry. They had to cope with an organised system of espionage and their movements were known to the bushrangers, while those of the bushrangers were rarely reported to the police, except by persons actually suffering from their violence. The means of rapid communication did not exist in the districts infested by the outlaws, and in the whole colony, at the height of the trouble, there were only forty-five telegraph stations compared with over 900 in the year 1900.

Almost all the bushrangers in the early days were escaped convicts or ticket-of-leave men, and in later times, when the convict element had disappeared, few of the bushrangers were natives of the country. The outbreak of lawlessness had a very serious effect upon the country. The spectacle of a large number of armed men, ranging the country almost unchecked, murdering, pillaging, and rioting, had an unfortunate effect upon the minds of those whose history and environment conduced to crime, and during the sixties New South Wales had an unenviable record of serious offences. The presence of bushranging had also a prejudicial effect upon the minds of persons outside the colony, and operated to diminish the immigration which the very liberal land laws tended to attract to the colony. The violent end which overtook nearly all the outlaws soon convinced would-be criminals that bushranging was not all romance, and if New South Wales did not gain many immigrants from the United Kingdom, it speedily attracted them from the neighbouring

colonies where the resources of the country were best understood.

A great many of the immigrants took up land in the Riverina, and became fairly prosperous. Geographically the Riverina belongs to Victoria, and the settlers in that district, trading as they did with Melbourne, looked upon that city as their proper metropolis. There was at first some talk of cutting off the Riverina from New South Wales and annexing it to Victoria, but such proposal was not seriously entertained. On the 2nd September, 1863, a petition was presented to the Assembly from inhabitants of the Riverina district praying for the establishment of their district as a distinct one with defined boundaries, on the same footing as that of Port Phillip before separation. On the same evening a similar petition to the Governor, with the Colonial Secretary's reply thereto, was laid upon the table. The letter of the Colonial Secretary was to the effect, that the Government were not prepared to recognise the necessity of defining any portion of the existing Colony of New South Wales as a distinct province; and that the appointment of a Government Superintendent would impede rather than expedite the transaction of public business. This view was the one taken by the members of the Legislature, and although the separation of Riverina from New South Wales was still agitated in the district itself, it was not seriously entertained either in England or in Australia.

Until the year 1848 the educational system of the colony was purely denominational, the Government granting to the heads of religious bodies assistance in proportion to the sum expended by them for educational purposes. As early as 1834, attempts had

been made to secure a modification of the system in force, and in 1839 a grant was made for the purpose of imparting instruction, free from sectarian influence, to the children of those who objected to denominational education. In 1844 a committee of the Legislative Council reported in favour of the Irish National School system, and four years later an Act was passed constituting two Boards, to one of which was entrusted the administration of denominational education, and to the other the undenominational or, as it was called, the national system. Although this dual system existed for eighteen years, it was never favoured by the people of the colony, and in 1866 Mr. Parkes, seeing the trend of public opinion, introduced his Public Schools Bill, which, while providing for the continuance of the two classes of schools, did away with the anomaly of two rival boards and placed all schools, receiving aid from the State, under the control of a Board to be appointed by the Government and styled the Council of Education; the denominational schools being governed by the Council in conjunction with the various religious bodies, by whom they had been founded. The Bill contained various restrictions on the opening of new denominational schools, and was looked upon with disfavour by the heads of the two chief religious bodies, as it was evidently the forerunner of a completely secular system.

Sir John Young retired from his position as Governor on the 24th December, 1867, and was succeeded on the 8th January, 1868, by the Earl of Belmore. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Edinburgh, second son of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, arrived in the colony. Loyal addresses were adopted by both Houses of the Legislature, and the various local

bodies vied with one another in expressing their loyalty, while the whole population was anxious to do honour to the Prince. This generous feeling was rudely interrupted by an attempt on the Prince's life. The would-be murderer was Henry James O'Farrell, a person of weak intellect, who, at public picnic at Clontarf, near Sydney, fired a pistol at his victim, wounding him in the back. The police secured O'Farrell, but they had extreme difficulty in preventing the people from lynching him on the spot, so great was their fury. When the facts in regard to the attempt on the Prince's life became known the greatest anger prevailed. The wildest rumours were circulated, and O'Farrell's action was asserted to be the outcome of a widespread conspiracy. On the 18th March—that is to say, six days after the attempted assassination—the Premier, Mr. Martin, moved in the Legislative Assembly, and the leader of the Opposition seconded, a motion for the suspension of the standing orders, with the object of passing through, in all its stages, a Bill "for the better security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom, and for the better suppression and punishment of seditious practices and attempts." The Bill was readily assented to by both Houses, and became law the next day after it was introduced. The Treason Felony Act, as it is called, is best described in the language of its author: it was "sufficiently large to include any attempt to depose the Queen, establishing a republic, putting down the Courts of Law, or any designs which may exist here or elsewhere for any such purpose as those." The Act was accepted in a panic of outraged loyalty, but it soon found critics. In the Legislative Assembly the question of the Act and its administra-

tion was raised on a motion for adjournment, for the discussion of the case of one Bartholomew Toomey, who was tried and acquitted of an offence under the Act, for saying that "the Prince had no business to come to the country and that it served him right." It was on this occasion Mr. William Forster declared, that in his opinion the Act was an eternal disgrace to the Parliament that passed it—an opinion which has been endorsed by a later generation. But amongst public men Mr. Forster stood almost alone. The entire community was delirious with excess of loyalty; both Houses voted addresses expressive of horror at the crime, of loyal attachment to the Royal family, and of solicitude for the welfare of the Duke of Edinburgh. Indignation meetings were held and the most extravagant professions of loyalty made. For the moment party politics disappeared. A reward of £1,000 was offered by the Government, for such information as would lead to the arrest and conviction of any person alleged to be an accomplice of the man O'Farrell. At the magisterial enquiry held shortly after his arrest, O'Farrell stated that "the task had been set him by some persons whom he did not name, and although he had failed he was not sorry that he had failed." It is now certain that these statements were not true and that he had not any accomplices.

Some time after the Prince had left the colony, and his would-be assassin had been executed, Mr. Henry Parkes, who was at that time Colonial Secretary, in the course of a speech delivered at Kiama, declared "that he held in his possession and could produce at any moment evidence, attested by affidavits, which left on his mind the conviction that, not only was the assassination of the Duke of Edin-

burgh planned, but that some one who had a guilty knowledge of the secret and whose fidelity was suspected had been foully murdered." This evidence he declared would carry conviction to the mind of any other impartial person. Such a statement, coming from an important and responsible adviser of the Crown, created a profound impression, not only on the people of New South Wales, but on the whole of Australia. The good faith and loyalty of a large section of the community was virtually impugned, and the most intense sectional bitterness prevailed, which men of goodwill and of all political parties subsequently tried in vain to remove. No one now believes that Mr. Parkes' statements had any foundation in fact, although his good faith, in making them, cannot be doubted. He was misled by officials, a number of whom on occasions of this kind can always be found to feed the flames of discord. The so-called revelations made at Kiama ultimately became a subject of much discomfort to their author, having passed into the vocabulary of party politics under the contemptuous appellation of the "Kiama Ghost." Mr. Parkes resigned from the Ministry some few months after his Kiama speech; the occasion of his withdrawal being a difference with his colleagues, over the dismissal of Mr. W. A. Duncan, from the position of Collector of Customs. This officer had been suspended by the Colonial Treasurer for alleged insubordination, and was restored to his position by the succeeding administration. The withdrawal of Mr. Henry Parkes proved the destruction of the Martin Ministry, which was defeated on a motion of Mr. John Robertson. The new Ministry met Parliament on the 8th December, 1868, and on the 15th of the same month Mr. William Macleay

moved for a select committee to enquire into and report upon the existence of a conspiracy for the purpose of treason and assassination, alleged by a former Colonial Secretary (Mr. Parkes) to have subsisted in New South Wales; and to receive all evidence that might be tendered or obtained concerning a murder, alleged by the same person to have been perpetrated, by one or more of such conspirators, the victim of which murder was said to be unknown to the police. On the 3d February, 1869, Macleay brought up the report of the Select Committee and a fortnight later moved, "That the House having duly considered the report of the said Select Committee resolved as follows:—(I.) That there is no evidence to warrant the belief that the Government was aware of any plot or intention to assassinate His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, before his arrival in this country or at any time previous to the attempt on his life. (II.) That it does not appear that any extraordinary precautions were taken for the preservation of the life of His Royal Highness, either on the occasion of his landing, or at any period during his stay in this country, up to the moment of his attempted assassination. (III.) That there is no evidence to warrant the belief that the crime of O'Farrell, who attempted to murder the Duke of Edinburgh, was the result of any conspiracy or organisation existing in this country, or, as far as the Government had or have any knowledge, the result of a conspiracy or organisation existing elsewhere. (IV.) That there is no evidence whatever of the murder of any supposed confederate in the alleged plot. (V.) That the foregoing resolutions be embodied in an address to the Governor, with the request that His Excellency will forward the same to Her

Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies." The report of the committee amounted to a direct condemnation of Mr. Parkes and he met the foregoing resolutions by an amendment as follows:—“(I.) That the report of the Select Committee appointed on the 15th December, 1868, to enquire into the existence of a conspiracy for purposes of treason and assassination, presented by the Chairman on the 3rd inst., contains numerous statements and inferences not warranted by the evidence, and is made an instrument of personal hostility against a member of this House, in disregard to the authorised objects of the enquiry, and manifestly for party purposes. (II.) That the evidence shows that several principal officers of the Government—who from their official position and experience were best qualified to form a correct judgment of the occurrences, and the state of public feeling during the time of the excitement, previous and subsequent to the attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh—were and are still of opinion, that meetings of seditious persons were held in the colony; that the criminal O'Farrell was not alone and unaided in his attack upon the life of His Royal Highness; and that persons openly sympathised with the attempted assassination. (III.) That the evidence showed that rumours of intended violence towards His Royal Highness more or less definite were in circulation before the 12th March, 1868; and that some such rumours have proceeded from sources unknown to the Government at the time, and that, therefore, they supply independent evidence in support of the statements of the official witnesses. (IV.) That the important results of the enquiry set forth in the preceding second and third resolutions and also other matters of serious moment, which ought to have been

faithfully represented to this House, have either been set aside altogether or improperly and prejudicially dealt with in the report. (V.) That this House expresses its disapprobation of the said report, and directs that it be expunged from the proceedings of the Select Committee." The amendment was carried by a large majority.

The consideration by Parliament of the O'Farrell affair practically ended with the motion of Mr. Parkes, but the ill-feeling engendered by the attack upon the Prince and the subsequent action of Parliament and of the Executive, lived for many years in the public life of the colony and embittered the private relationship of no inconsiderable part of the community. Happily the ill-feeling has now passed away and the unfortunate incidents surrounding the attempt on the life of the Duke of Edinburgh are well-nigh forgotten.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW SOUTH WALES FROM 1869 TO 1888.

ABOUT the year 1869 the colony began to experience some of the direct effects of the Robertson Lands Acts. There was considerable increase in the land under crop, and the pastoral industry received extensive development and there was a welcome return of material prosperity, which awoke in the minds of politicians a firmer faith in the future of their colony. It was not, however, until a few years later, spurred on by the reproaches of the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, that their faith began to bear fruit in works, and Parliament sanctioned various schemes for opening up the interior. The confidence displayed by the Government of the colony appears to have had a stimulating effect on private investors, and, as pointed out in the chapter dealing with industrial history, money was poured into the country in very large amounts, especially from 1874 onwards.

With their broader life all the colonies began to feel the necessity for uniformity of legislation in matters of mutual interest, and at the instance of the Government of Tasmania, a conference was convened at Melbourne in June, 1870, at which representatives of Tasmania, South Australia, and Victoria attended. The main object sought to be accomplished was the establishment of a Customs union amongst the various colonies and the removal of the restrictions imposed upon intercolonial trade. The difficulties sought to

be overcome were the result of the opposite fiscal policies pursued by the different colonies; and it must have been evident to the Premiers and Treasurers in conference, that nothing short of an actual federation, with an uniform customs tariff, would do away with the inconveniences and anomalies of which traders and residents in the border districts were constantly complaining. The conference was not followed by any direct result, but it may be said to have paved the way to the renewal of the agreement made some years before between Victoria, South Australia, and New South Wales.

The new spirit of enterprise, which had come to the citizens of the colony, and especially of the metropolis, was exhibited in the proposal to celebrate the year 1870 by the opening of an intercolonial exhibition. That year was the centenary of the discovery of New South Wales by Captain Cook, and there was a general feeling in Sydney, that so notable an anniversary should not be passed over in silence. The Government were lukewarm and afraid to incur the expense and responsibility which the enterprise entailed, so the matter was left to the initiative of the citizens themselves. Fortunately the Agricultural Society of Sydney showed more public spirit than the Government, and the Municipal Council of Sydney joined in the enterprise by erecting a suitable building on one of the public parks. The exhibition was very successful, and several of the neighbouring colonies contributed to its success by sending a large number of well-chosen exhibits.

Early in 1872 a general election took place, which resulted in the complete overthrow of the Government, but defeat at the polls has been the common fate of most administrations in New South Wales, that

have appealed to the people, and the elections of 1872 were not otherwise remarkable, except for the renewal of the agitation for the separation of Riverina. The people in the border districts laboured under many disabilities. The majority of them were either natives of Victoria or of South Australia, or had resided in one or other of these colonies on their first coming to Australia, and they naturally looked upon Melbourne with more favour than the more remote capital of the province to which they belonged. The wish of the border people was for annexation to Victoria, but as such a step would have raised the fierce opposition of New South Wales, the agitation was directed towards separation as an independent province. In January, 1867, a convention had been entered into between the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria with a view of obviating the collection of customs duties along the River Murray. The arrangement was for five years from 1st February, 1867, and the Government of Victoria undertook to make a yearly payment to New South Wales of the estimated annual balance, that would be payable to that colony, after allowing for the duties payable to Victoria on goods imported from New South Wales. But as goods coming into New South Wales by way of the Murray River from South Australia touched at Victorian ports and were said to be so mixed up with Victorian produce that the Victorian customs officials were unable to distinguish one from the other, the Victorian Treasury arranged to pay the duties for both colonies, the amount being fixed at £60,000. To adjust matters the Government of New South Wales undertook to continue collecting duties, on produce from South Australia, but handing over the amount so collected, less the cost of collection to

Victoria. The agreement lapsed on 1st February, 1872, and the border duties were again collected to the intense irritation of all engaged in the border trade. Mr. Henry Parkes took office as Premier on the 14th May, 1872, and within a month a Bill was submitted to Parliament, making provision for free intercourse between Victoria and New South Wales across the Murray River. The Bill was passed by a commanding majority in the Legislative Assembly, but was shelved on a division of nine to eight by the Council. Ultimately an Act was passed by which authority was given to the Government, to make a convention with the neighbouring colonies of Victoria and South Australia, under which free admission would be granted to all goods coming from these colonies into New South Wales, in consideration of a like concession being granted to goods exported from New South Wales and the payment of lump sums, by Victoria and by South Australia, equal to the estimated amount of the duties remitted by New South Wales in favour of these colonies. In accordance with the authority thus given an arrangement was made for the suspension of duties, on both sides of the Murray, such agreement to hold for a period of three years, and during such period there was to be paid to New South Wales by Victoria the sum of £54,500 per annum and by South Australia of £13,500. It was further arranged that if the duties in New South Wales should be, at any time during the period covered by the agreement, reduced, repealed, or increased, the amount payable to that colony should be adjusted to meet the new conditions; but on any such alteration by New South Wales, it was to be optional for the other two colonies to retire from the agreement. The convention lasted until

January 31st, 1874, when Victoria retired from it, in consequence of an alteration made in the rates of duty in force in New South Wales, but South Australia remained a party to it until its expiry, and by further convention renewed the agreement for six months and again for twelve months.

The action of the Legislative Council in shelving the Border Duties Bill, when passed by an overwhelming majority of the Assembly fresh from a general election, led to one of the many contests that have taken place between the two Houses of Legislature. The action of the Council was strongly condemned not only in the districts affected but also by public opinion throughout the colony. On the 27th March, 1873, a bill "to amend the constitution and to provide for the representation of the people in the Legislative Council," passed the Assembly and was forwarded to the Council; but that body refused to consider it on the ground that legislation affecting the constitution of the Council should originate in that Chamber.

On the 30th March, 1874, there died at Wembourne, in Dorsetshire, England, William Charles Wentworth, in many ways the most notable person whom Australia has yet produced. He was the founder of the Sydney University and the author of the constitution of New South Wales, and was very prominent in political life before the advent of responsible government. In accordance with his wishes, his body was brought to the colony and deposited in a vault at Vaucluse. A public funeral was accorded to the remains of the deceased statesman and was carried out with every mark of respect from the people of Sydney, who lined the streets through which the cortege passed,

The career of Frank Gardiner has been given in outline in the previous chapter. Shortly after the arrival in the colony of Sir Hercules Robinson, numerously and influentially signed petitions were presented to him, praying for Gardiner's release, on the ground of the desire to reform evinced by the prisoner's conduct, both before and after his capture. There was an implied promise that after serving ten years of his sentence, Gardiner's case would be reconsidered with a view to his release, and the Governor felt bound in honour to carry out his promise. Accordingly, he addressed a minute to the Executive, in which he pointed out that the prisoner had been already sufficiently punished and could be with safety released, on condition of his leaving Australia. The Governor deprecated the retention of a man in prison in obedience to mere popular clamour, which he believed to be both unreasonable and unjust. It was indispensable for prison discipline that every hope held out to prisoners should be scrupulously fulfilled, or broken only on grounds, the sufficiency of which would be apparent even to prisoners' minds. The Governor declared he could see no such grounds in the present case, and he was convinced that the bad moral effect upon the whole body of prisoners, which would result from disappointing, without sufficient reason, an expectation raised by Her Majesty's representatives, would be infinitely greater than the inconvenience which would be likely to result from keeping faith with the prisoner and allowing him to leave the country.

The prerogative of mercy was at the time exercised by the Governor alone, though it is probable his advisers were in full accord with him in regard to its exercise in this case. Gardiner was accordingly re-

leased, but the Governor's action raised a storm of indignation which might have been anticipated, as the memory of the bushranger's outrages were still fresh in the minds of the people. Nor was the wording of the Governor's minute calculated to soothe the popular anger. The minute had been laid before Parliament, and a motion was moved censuring the action of the Governor's advisers and the Governor himself. There was a very angry discussion in Parliament upon the motion, which was only lost on the casting vote of the Speaker. The dissolution of Parliament immediately followed, and, when the new Parliament met, a motion of censure was moved, in the form of an address to the Governor and couched in the same terms as those of the motion on the same subject, made in the previous Parliament. The address was as follows: "We desire with reference to the important matter which led to the dissolution of the late Parliament, most respectfully to express our regret that your Excellency's Responsible Ministers should have advised you to communicate to the Legislative Assembly, your minute to the Executive Council, dated the 23d June, with reference to the release of the prisoner Gardiner. Because it is indefensible in certain of its allegations, and because, if it is considered to be an answer to the respectful and earnest petitions of the people, it is highly undesirable to convert the records of this House into a means of conveying censure and reproof to our constituents; and if it refers to the discussion in this Chamber, then it is in spirit and effect a breach of the constitutional privileges of Parliament."

The motion of censure was carried and the Ministry resigned. Sir Hercules Robinson now found himself in a very difficult position. Under ordinary

circumstances he would have sent for the leader of the Opposition, Mr. John Robertson, but Sir Hercules was anxious to avoid having for his chief adviser the mover of the vote of censure which reflected more upon his own action than on his Ministers. The Governor therefore turned to Sir William Manning, a distinguished member of the Legislative Council, and asked him to form a Ministry. This Sir William Manning attempted to do, but without success, and the Governor had perforce to entrust the task to Mr. John Robertson. After the re-election of the new ministers an attempt was made in the Legislative Assembly to censure the Governor, for his action in sending for a member of the Council to form a new Ministry, but the House negatived the motion and the Gardiner affair and its attendant complications passed out of sight.

The Government of Mr. Henry Parkes had inaugurated a vigorous public works policy, which was continued and extended by succeeding ministries. In the year 1872 the expenditure on public works was a little more than half a million sterling, five years later it was three times as much, and ten years later the sum expended was nearly three and a half millions. Most of this expenditure was provided for out of loans, but the huge revenue derived from land sales enabled the Government to supplement very largely their expenditure of borrowed money. The practice of assisting people in Great Britain to emigrate to the colony, which had fallen into desuetude in 1869 and the following years, was revived, and in the ten years commencing with 1877, the passages of 51,455 persons were paid from England to Sydney. A large proportion of the immigrants were adult males, and the Government were almost compelled to

continue their public works policy, in order to provide employment for these persons and the incomers from the adjacent colonies whom the lavish Government expenditure had attracted to New South Wales. Considering the objects to which the money was devoted, it must be conceded that the public works policy of the Government was very extravagant, and, like all governmental extravagance on a large scale, its end was labour congestion and financial embarrassment. It will not be necessary to discuss the matter further at this place, as the general question of the immediate and ulterior effects of the financial policy of the Government is treated at length in another chapter. For a period of fifteen years the colony had an appearance of great prosperity, much of which was in every way genuine but much also was delusive.

A notable event of the Governorship of Sir Hercules Robinson was the annexation of the Fiji Islands. The group had virtually become a British colony, and the formal annexation was made with the concurrence of the king, chiefs and people.

Allusion has been made frequently in these pages to Sir Charles Cowper; he had in 1870 resigned the premiership of the colony to become its Agent General in London. Sir Charles Cowper's death in 1875 removed one of the chief actors in the stirring days of the initiation of Responsible Government, whose services are apt to be overlooked by the present generation which profits by them.

A Bill was introduced on the 2nd December, 1873, by Mr. Terry to limit the duration of future parliaments to three years. It was quietly passed through the Legislative Assembly; many members, who would otherwise have opposed it, refrained from doing so, in the confident expectation that the Bill would be

thrown out by the Council. In this they were disappointed, for the Council passed the Bill with little debate and it became law on the 6th February, 1874. The average duration of all parliaments under Responsible Government has been two years and four months, nor has the average sensibly declined since the life of Parliament has been limited to three years.

Sir Hercules Robinson retired from the Governorship of the colony on March 19th, 1879, and his going away was greatly regretted by all classes of the community, for he was not only a good Governor, but the most eloquent public speaker who had ever been in the colony. He was moreover an enthusiastic sportsman and entered with great avidity into the outdoor life of the people. Sir Hercules Robinson's advice had much to do with the forward policy in public works, which was entered upon shortly after he became Governor, but Sir Hercules remained in the colonies sufficiently long to see the policy, excellent within the limits proposed by him, carried to a vicious extreme, and instead of confining the expenditure of borrowed money to reproductive works of a public character, he saw the various Governments pledging the resources of the country, in order to find the means for the construction of works of a useless or ephemeral nature and for the placation of the unemployed.

Sir Hercules Robinson was appointed to New Zealand, and before leaving, his wife laid the foundation stone of the building aptly named the Garden Palace, in which it was proposed to hold the first international exhibition of Australasia. The success which had attended its previous exhibitions induced the Agricultural Society to even a more ambitious effort. Invitations were accordingly issued to various

countries to take part in an international exhibition during the year 1879. The promises to exhibit were so numerous that the Agricultural Society speedily realised that, if faith were to be kept with those who proposed to send exhibits, the exhibition would have to be on a magnificent scale and would be far beyond its power to cope with. Parliament had voted £10,000 to the Society for the purpose of assisting it in its enterprise, which was everywhere understood to be under the auspices of the Government. To recede would have been impossible, so the Government determined to go on and take the management of the exhibition out of the hands of the Society and place it under the control of an honorary commission, comprised of such leading business men and producers as were willing to act. Having become engaged in the enterprise the Government pushed on with their preparations with great earnestness. The construction of the buildings was placed under the direction of Mr. John Young, an experienced contractor, and a very handsome and commodious building was rapidly erected on an exquisite site in the inner domain, adjoining Government House and the Botanical Gardens. The exhibition was in every way a success, notwithstanding that the cost to the Government was over a quarter of a million sterling. Every civilised country was represented, and visitors from all parts of the world attended. The resources of New South Wales were displayed to advantage and became widely known, with the result that there was almost immediately a great quickening of trade and many persons who came merely as sightseers remained in Sydney to prosecute the lucrative business which they found awaiting them.

On the 20th December, 1878, Sir Henry Parkes

assumed office as Premier for the third time, having formed a coalition government with Sir John Robertson as vice-president of the Executive and representative of the ministry in the Legislative Council. The two knights had been very strong opponents and their joining hands created a great deal of surprise and evoked much adverse criticism. At this distance of time it is hard to conceive what else could have been done in the interests of staple government. On the fall of the Robertson ministry in March, 1877, Sir Henry Parkes took office, but so evenly were parties divided that his ministry maintained its position for not more than five months, being displaced by one led by Sir John Robertson. This ministry survived only four months, being beaten upon a vote of want of confidence moved by Mr. Farnell. The Governor sent for Sir Henry Parkes, but Sir Henry failed to form a ministry and the task was undertaken by Mr. Farnell. The Farnell ministry held its place for just twelve months, when it was defeated on its land policy. The Governor asked Sir John Robertson to carry on the Government of the country, but although Sir John formed a ministry it was not sworn in, as the Assembly virtually refused to permit it to transact any business. He therefore relinquished the task, and on the same day the Speaker of the Assembly announced that Sir John Robertson had resigned his seat. The veteran statesman explained as his reason for resigning, that the existence of three parties in the Assembly was fatal to the possibility of good government and therefore he had decided to retire from Parliament. The Governor then arranged with Mr. Farnell to resume the duties of Government, but the ministry was at once met with an adverse vote and finally retired from office.

Sir Henry Parkes having been sent for, formed a ministry with the aid of Sir John Robertson. The Parkes-Robertson ministry held office for a little over four years, and during its career passed many important measures through Parliament. On the 12th November, 1879, Sir Henry Parkes introduced a Bill "to make more adequate provision for Public Education." It repealed the Public Schools Act of 1866, dissolved the Council of Education, vesting its powers in a Minister of Public Instruction. The main features of the measure were the suppression of denominational schools and the provision for the compulsory attendance at school of children between the ages of six and fourteen years. One hour in each day was set apart when children might be instructed by a teacher of their own persuasion, but no child was to receive instruction if the parents or guardians objected. The Public Instruction Act was strongly opposed by a section of the adherents of the Church of England and by the bulk of the Roman Catholics, but was supported by the majority of the people of the colony; its third reading being carried in the Assembly by a majority of forty-two to six, and it became law on the 21st April, 1880. While the Bill dealing with public instruction was being dealt with, opportunity was taken to settle the vexed question of Church School lands. A Bill was introduced vesting the management of these lands in the Legislature and applying the income derived therefrom for the purpose of public instruction. The Bill provoked a great deal of opposition, not so much in Parliament as amongst those who felt that vested interests were affected. Counsel was heard at the bar of the Assembly in support of a petition presented against the Bill by the president of the Church of

England Synod, and the same advocate appeared before the Legislative Council. Some amendments were made by the Council and in part accepted by the Assembly and the Bill ultimately became law.

For some reason of which the public was not aware, the year 1878 showed an alarming increase in the number of Chinese entering the colony; the influx continued and appeared so formidable in 1881, that in alarm Parliament passed the Influx of Chinese Restriction Act, imposing a tax of £10 on every Chinese entering the colony, and limiting the number of Chinese passengers to be carried by a vessel to one for every 100 tons. It is probable this Act was not as strictly enforced as it might have been, for in spite of its drastic provisions only a temporary check was given to the alien immigration. In 1881, the year in which the Act was passed, the Chinese arrivals were 4,465, in 1882 the number fell to 1,007, but thereafter rapidly increased so that in 1887 the arrivals were 4,436. The continued influx of Chinese led to a demand for further restrictive measures and a closer application of the existing law. With this latter in view, a strict watch was kept on vessels coming to Newcastle and Sydney with Chinese on board, and one of the first results of the awakened activity was that the master of the S.S. *Chelydra* was fined £1,000 for having on his vessel more Chinese than the law allowed. The anti-Chinese agitation soon attained formidable dimensions, and was not confined to New South Wales, but spread to all the colonies. In Sydney the agitation had a direct effect upon the Government and compelled it to somewhat precipitate action. A monster meeting was held on 3rd May, 1888, in the Town Hall to protest against the further influx of Chinese; and strongly worded

resolutions were carried. On the two following days two vessels arrived in Sydney harbour, bringing a large number of Chinese passengers, and the Premier, Sir Henry Parkes, directed that they should be prohibited landing. In doing so he exceeded his powers, as it is plain the law could not be set aside at the will of the Executive. The Chinese appealed to the Courts, and the Government were compelled to give way and permit their landing. This served merely to increase the public ferment. On 25th June a great anti-Chinese indignation meeting and procession was organised and wild words were uttered; open rebellion, defiance of the Governor, "cutting the painter," and ignoring treaty rights were freely advocated. Some ten days subsequently an Intercolonial Conference on the Chinese Question was held at Sydney, under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes. The Conference were united in the opinion that the influx of Chinese should be made as difficult as possible. It was not deemed advisable absolutely to prohibit the immigration; but it was considered that the numbers privileged to land should be so limited that an effective check would be given to inroads of the aliens. The Parliament of New South Wales was already considering a Bill when the Conference was summoned, and ultimately it passed an Act which went even farther in the direction of restriction than recommended by the Conference. By this measure vessels are prohibited from carrying to the colony more than one Chinese passenger to every 300 tons; and such Chinese as wish to land are required to pay a poll-tax of £100; they are not to engage in mining, without express authority under the hand and seal of the Minister for Mines; nor are they permitted to take advantage of the Naturalisation Act,

Chinese, who by birth are British subjects, do not come under the provision of this restrictive legislation; but they have to pass the educational test prescribed by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1898. The penalty for the breach of the Chinese Restriction Act is £500.

Although the measure has operated greatly to restrict Chinese immigration, it is believed that a number of Chinese find their way into New South Wales by the "back doors" of the other colonies. In 1887 the number of Chinese immigrants into New South Wales was 4,436; in 1888, it had fallen to 1,848; and in 1889, to 7, and in 1899 the number was 36, most of whom were naturalised or British subjects by birth. All fear of a Chinese trouble in New South Wales has, with the legislation of 1888, entirely disappeared, and under its operation the alien population of the colony tends greatly to decrease.

In the year 1885 New South Wales gave a great proof of its attachment to the Empire, and indirectly of its resources, by the despatch of a military contingent to the British army serving in the Soudan. This army had been working up the Nile, with the object of rescuing General Gordon who was shut up in Khartoum. The fate of the gallant Gordon was a matter of profound interest in the colony and the acting Premier, the Hon. W. B. Dalley, cabled to London offering the armed assistance of New South Wales. This offer was accepted and the British Government suggested the landing at Suakin, within seventy days, of a force of artillery and infantry, together with the necessary supply of horses. By dint of great exertion, everything was got ready in time, and on March 3rd, 1885, the Australian contingent, as it was called, sailed from Sydney in the

steamships *Iberis* and *Australasian*. This was the first military support ever given by these colonies to the Mother Country. The plan of campaign for the Egyptian expedition was altered and the assistance of the little army of New South Wales volunteers was not required, and the expedition returned to Sydney, four months after its departure, without having seen much service. The impression produced upon the public mind of Great Britain was very great, nor had that impression faded when the outbreak of war in South Africa gave the opportunity for all the colonies to unite in a splendid offer of troops, which the British Government gladly accepted.

Lord Augustus Loftus was succeeded by the Rt. Hon. Baron Carrington as Governor of the colony, on 12th December, 1885. Lord Carrington's administration was marked in its first year by a very unfortunate event. Nine youths were condemned to death for the crime of rape. The correctness of the verdict was not questioned, but it was believed by many that the trial itself was unfairly conducted. The offenders were all very young, and very great efforts were made to obtain a reprieve. Many petitions were signed pleading for mercy, and a deputation consisting of the Church of England Bishop, the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Sir Henry Parkes, and the Hon. W. B. Dalley, supported by a large number of prominent citizens, pleaded with the Governor, but without avail. Four of the youths concerned paid with their lives the penalty of their offence. During the agitation the Governor found himself in a position of great difficulty. He was the person vested with the prerogative of mercy and his inclination was for a reprieve, but his responsible advisers recommended that the law should take its course, so also

did the judge who tried the case. A large section of the community were shocked at the scandal of the trial and took care that the Governor should hear their views; while another section, perhaps still larger, approved of an example being made of the unfortunate youths, because crimes against women were then very prevalent. Two results followed the execution of the Mount Rennie offenders. Juries have since become loath to convict for rape, where they fear the death penalty will be enforced, and secondly there has been a change in the functions delegated by the Crown to the representative of Majesty in these colonies. The prerogative of mercy, almost the last vestige of real power left to a Governor, is now exercised on the advice of the Executive Council, just as are the other formal acts of the King's representative.

Sir James Martin, thrice premier and afterwards Chief-Justice of the colony, died in November, 1886. He was a native of Ireland, but had been brought by his parents to the colony when about a year old. He became interested at an early age in the politics of the country and was thrice premier and attorney-general and once attorney-general but not premier. The filling of the high office made vacant by Sir James Martin's death gave occasion to a most unseemly controversy. Sir Julian Salomons was offered and accepted the appointment, but relinquished it almost immediately, without even taking his seat on the bench, in consequence of an open letter addressed to him by one of his fellow judges, Sir William C. Wyndeyer. On the 27th of November, 1886, upon the resignation of Sir Julian Salomons the Chief-Justiceship was offered and accepted by the Hon. F. M. Darley, who still retains the

position with the added dignity of Lieutenant Governor.

On the 23rd of March, 1887, there occurred a most disastrous accident at the Bulli Coal Mine, about forty-five miles south of Sydney. A large number of miners were at work in the mine when a terrific explosion took place resulting in the loss of 81 lives. Most of the men entombed were married and had families, and the accident sent a thrill of horror throughout the whole community. Subscription lists were at once opened, not only in New South Wales, but in Victoria and the other colonies, and the sum of £43,538 was thereby obtained; an amount sufficient to allow of grants being made to all children of tender years, made orphans by the accident, and of annuities to the women who had lost their husbands or breadwinners.

Some time after the accident a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into its cause and in due time made its report, which contained various excellent recommendations; but it was not for ten years afterwards that a law was passed which so regulated the working of mines, that the possibility of a similar accident occurring is now reduced to a minimum.

CHAPTER VIII.

RECENT HISTORY.—LABOUR TROUBLES.

THE tide of prosperity in New South Wales was at its full in the year 1884. In the following year, however, there were not wanting signs that hard times were in store for the country. After some twelve years of good but slightly falling prices, there was, in 1885, a fall of 12 per cent. in the prices of domestic exports as compared with those obtained in the previous year. This was accompanied by unpropitious seasons and would inevitably have caused a depression, but a lavish expenditure by the State, both from revenue and from loan proceeds, enabled an appearance of prosperity to be maintained for a year or two longer.

In 1886 employment became scarce and wages began to fall in spite of every effort made by labour organisation to maintain the old rates. During 1885 and 1886 there was a suspension of work in several of the Southern collieries in some cases extending to twelve months, owing to strikes and lock-outs. In 1886 towards the end of August the Newcastle miners to the number of 6,000 went out on strike. Various attempts were made to arrive at a settlement, and a conference between the owners and the miners' representatives was held, but without avail. Then came picketing and rioting, and the differences between the parties were made harder to adjust by the trial and sentence of several of the

miners, for their share in the disturbances. The Government took a lenient view of the miners' case and released the offenders, but no satisfactory arrangement was come to and the strike continued until the middle of November, when an agreement was patched up. But the arrangement was only a temporary one, for in the middle of the following year the industrial war broke out anew, and the Newcastle miners threw down their tools and remained on strike for more than six months, the unfortunate dispute not ending until the close of January, 1890. In 1890 prices were again inclined downwards and there was the greatest unrest in industrial circles; large numbers of men were unemployed, chiefly by reason of the falling off in the expenditure upon public works. Everything industrial pointed to coming labour troubles, while the conditions of trade pointed to the certain defeat of the labour organisations. There were several strikes in the first half of the year 1890, but these were important only as showing the general tendency of labour matters, and as preluding the great events which were about to happen. The Right Hon. W. B. Dalley, who was acting premier when the Soudan contingent was despatched, died on the 28th October, 1888, at the comparatively early age of fifty-five years. Mr. Dalley was born at Sydney, where also he was educated. He entered political life as one of the members for Sydney when he was only twenty-five years of age, and for thirty years remained prominent in political circles, although, such was his temperament, he preferred not to be a member of the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Dalley occupied a seat in the Assembly for some six years, but was a member of the Legislative Council

for a much longer period; he was four times a minister of the Crown, thrice as Attorney-General.

In 1890 the labour organisation thought themselves able to strike a blow, which would enable them to secure their own terms from employers, and out of this confidence grew the "great strike," so called from the number of trades and the large area involved. The great strike paralysed trade throughout the whole of eastern Australasia from August to October, 1890, and was of far-reaching importance; but as it is dealt with at length in the chapter dealing with the industrial history of the period it does not call for a detailed description at this place, especially as the strike affected not New South Wales alone but every member of the group.

From the great strike originated two movements of very opposite character, having for their object the benefit of the working classes. These were the establishment of a labour colony of Australian Bush-workers in Paraguay, and the formation of a political labour party. The idea of emigrating to Paraguay, and the founding a colony on communistic principles, originated with a number of enthusiasts headed by William Lane, a Brisbane journalist, a man of keen intelligence and unquestioned integrity. A large number of bushworkers, all excellent colonists, eagerly caught at the idea and joined the proposed expedition, and Mr Lane with the utmost courage faced all the difficulties of the situation, raised the necessary funds and made excellent arrangements for the despatch of the expedition. The advance guard set sail in the *Royal Tar* from Sydney on the 16th July, 1893, and safely arrived at Monte Video; other contingents followed and established themselves on the lands reserved for them by the

Paraguayan Government. Everything seemed to favour the successful issue of the enterprise, but though the settlement still exists it has proved a complete failure. The colonists who left Australia fully determined to succeed where others had failed, and to preserve a community of interests and property, are now split up into various factions with as little of the "common brotherhood" about them as if they had remained in Australia. Some of the colonists were able to escape from the destitution to which the settlement was reduced, but a large number of others found their promised land a prison and were forced to remain starving and disillusioned, until they were assisted back to Australia by the Government of Queensland.

The strikes of 1890 were perhaps the most completely organised efforts to coerce capital yet attempted, and their failure taught the labour leaders, that however perfectly labour may be organised, it is powerless to defeat organised capital. The recognition of this fact was the first step to a change in tactics, and the Labour Party determined to secure direct representation in Parliament and obtain by legislation what strikes and physical force failed to accomplish. For several years attempts had been made by men prominent in labour circles to enter Parliament; those who succeeded were, however, not distinguishable from the ordinary members of the party they happened to support. When the labour leaders proposed to contest the general election of 1891 it was agreed by their candidates, that those elected should stand aloof from the other parties and act together to attain certain defined objects, as well as generally to secure for the wage-earner a better return for his labour, than was possible under existing

conditions. The direct objects of the party were embodied in a manifesto in which the influence of a single-tax wing was strongly marked. The manifesto or platform was as follows:—

(I.) Electoral reform to provide for the abolition of plural voting; the abolition of money deposits in parliamentary elections, extension of the franchise to sailors, shearers, and general labourers by means of a provision for the registration of votes; extension of the franchise to policemen and soldiers; abolition of the six months residential clause as a qualification for the exercise of the franchise; single member electorates and equal electoral districts on adult population basis; all parliamentary elections to be held on one day, and that day to be a public holiday, and all public-houses to be closed during the hours of polling. (II.) Free, compulsory, and technical education, higher as well as elementary, to be extended to all alike. (III.) Eight hours to be a legal maximum working day in all occupations. (IV.) A Workshop and Factories Act, to provide for the prohibition of the sweating system; the supervision of boilers and machinery, and the appointment of representative working men as inspectors. (V.) Amendment of the Mining Act; to provide for all applications for mineral leases being summarily dealt with by the local wardens; the strict enforcement of labour conditions on such leases; abolition of the leading system on all new gold-fields; the right to mine on private property; greater protection to persons engaged in the mining industry, and inspectors to hold certificates of competency. (VI.) Extension to seamen of the benefits of the Employers' Liability Act. (VII.) Repeal of the Masters and Servants Act and the Agreements Validating Act.

(VIII.) Amendment of the Masters and Apprentices Act and the Trades Union Act. (IX.) Establishment of a Department of Labour, a national bank, and a national system of water conservation and irrigation. (X.) Elective Magistrates. (XI.) Local Government and decentralisation; extension of the principle of the Government as an employer, through the medium of local self-governing bodies; the abolition of our present unjust and injurious method of raising municipal revenue by the taxation of improvements effected by labour. (XII.) The Federation of the Colonies of Australia on a national as opposed to an imperialistic basis. (XIII.) The recognition in our legislative enactments of the natural and alienable rights of the whole community to the land upon which all must live, and from which by labour all wealth is produced by the taxation of that value which accrues to the land by the presence and needs of the community, irrespective of improvements effected by human exertion; and the absolute and indefeasible right of property on the part of all Crown tenants in improvements effected on the holdings. (XIV.) All Government contracts to be executed in the colony. (XV.) Stamping of Chinese made furniture. (XVI.) Any measure that will secure for the wage-earner a fair equitable return for his or her labour.

The Labour Party contested the general election of 1891 fully prepared and its success more than answered its expectations. The number of seats in the Assembly was 141, and of these the party secured 35, the supporters of the Government and the Opposition dividing the remaining seats nearly equally.

It is evident therefore so long as the Labour Party worked as one body, they could control the

business of Parliament by throwing the weight of their votes into one scale or the other, for the fiscal differences of the Government and the Opposition were such as to make a coalition between the parties quite impossible. It was not long, however, before the Labour Party itself split on the fiscal issue, and the protectionists made a gain of eight of their number. Then again the party made an attempt to coerce the Parkes' ministry over the question of the working hours of miners, but Sir Henry Parkes refused to be coerced and gave up office. This brought about the return to power of Sir George Dibbs. Of the original 35 members of the Labour Party 18 voted with the new ministry and 17 with the Free Trade opposition. The party of Sir George Dibbs retained office from the 23rd of October, 1891, until the dissolution, governing the country by a very slender majority. The election of 1894 proved unfavourable to the Government and Sir George resigned on the 2nd August, 1894, being succeeded by Mr. G. H. Reid. The elections were also adverse to the Labour Party. The fiscal question had divided its members nearly equally and further disorganisation was caused by differences on the Single-Tax question. The party was reorganised and a remedy applied which prevented the disunion, by which the very existence of the party was threatened. The newly constituted party took what is called the solidarity pledge, and on every occasion when the matter at issue is important, the manner in which the vote of the party will be cast is determined in caucus and the whole of the party vote as the majority may decide. A new programme was drawn up, one more possible of realisation than that originally formulated, and, on this programme and pledged to soli-

darity, the Labour Party went to the poll. As stated the result was a great reverse, the strength of the party was reduced to nineteen in a House of 125 members. At the same time the principle of solidarity signally triumphed. The members of the former Parliament who had betrayed their party, or who had refused to give the pledge required, were nearly all rejected; those remaining true to the party and the solidarity pledge being in almost all cases again returned. The lesson of their first parliamentary experience was taken to heart; and since the election of 1894, the Labour Party has presented a united front to the other two sections and have on various occasions shown their power and the knowledge how to use it. Very recently the party, by casting nineteen votes *en bloc*, threw out of office the free trade premier whom they had supported for over five years, and whose position would not otherwise have been assailable. The Labour Party have not by any means succeeded in carrying the whole of the measures they have made "planks" in their platform; they have, however, obtained several important pieces of legislation, which, but for the determination of the party, would not have become law. Some part of the success of the party is undoubtedly due to their wise choice of a leader, Mr. James McGowan being a man of essentially moderate views, whose counsels have been always in favour of the attainable, and of proceeding in political matters so as not to alarm, unduly, the susceptibilities of the more conservative part of the population.

On the 8th May, 1891, the colony lost by death one of its most distinguished men, Sir John Robertson, who for nearly forty years occupied a large space in the political life of the colony. Sir John

Robertson's chief claim to the gratitude of the country depends upon his Lands Acts of 1861, but during the years which he held office, he was associated with a great many important legislative enactments, and had the unusual fortune of seeing all the important projects he advocated on his entrance to public life become the law of the colony. Sir John was a native of Essex, England, but arrived in the colony when barely four years of age. He died at the advanced age of seventy-five years.

The Earl of Jersey resigned his Governorship on the 28th February, 1893, after the short administration of two years. The departure of Lord Jersey was greatly regretted by the people of the colony, who saw in him the type of Governor most pleasing to them. Lord Jersey was succeeded by Sir William Robert Duff, who arrived in the colony on the 29th May, 1893.

On the 11th February, 1892, there was a run on the New South Wales Savings Bank, a semi-government institution. This was the result of a malicious and absolutely groundless rumour. The Government notified that the bank had its support and the run ceased. Twelve months afterwards occurred the most serious financial crisis that Australia has experienced, a crisis which shook the credit of the colony to its foundations, but which was not altogether unexpected. The Government of New South Wales had prepared a Bill for the regulation of Banking, but, after mature consideration, it was not considered advisable to introduce the Bill, lest its stringent provisions should have the effect of hastening the fall of certain institutions whose collapse appeared inevitable. The crisis was an Australian one, but most severely felt in the three eastern colo-

nies and in Tasmania. The first to feel the awakening of the public distrust were the building societies and land companies, and a number of these, from the loose and unprincipled way in which their business had been conducted, were unable to resist the drain on their resources, and their fall undermined the position of kindred societies that otherwise would have been perfectly safe. Bank after bank suspended payment and panic was in the air. Sir George Dibbs was premier at the time, and, with the consent of Parliament, took the bold step of declaring bank-notes legal tender and of advancing to any one who applied legal tender Treasury Notes to the extent of half the amount of such person's current account locked up in the suspended banks. These Treasury Notes were payable in gold at the expiration of five years from time of issue. The action of the Government tended greatly to allay the panic, as will be seen from the fact that although the Treasury might have been called upon to advance £2,400,000 against current accounts, the sum actually applied for was only £358,000. It was long, however, before public confidence fully recovered from the staggering blow which it received at the bank crisis, and it is admitted that were it not for the courageous action of Sir George Dibbs at every phase of the crisis, the effects would have been still more deplorable.

In 1894 occurred the death of Sir Alfred Stephen, thirty-five years a judge and twenty-nine years Chief-Justice of New South Wales. He was born at St. Kitts in the West Indies in the year 1802, and was therefore 92 years of age at the time of his death. Sir Alfred Stephen was several times Administrator of the Government of New South Wales

and in 1875 was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, a post which he held at his death. He was the recipient of many honours from the Crown, and was without doubt one of the most distinguished figures in the history of Australia. Early in the following year another notable personage passed away, viz., Sir William Montague Manning, Chancellor of the University of Sydney and a member of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Sir William Manning was solicitor-general at the time responsible government was introduced, and was for many years a judge of the Supreme Court.

In March, 1895, died Sir William Robert Duff, Governor of the colony in succession to the Earl of Jersey. Sir Robert was sixty years of age at his death and had been in the colony less than two years. It is noteworthy that he is the first Governor of New South Wales who died in office.

Reference has been made to the outcry raised against the administration of justice and the action of the judge in the Mount Rennie case. Some nine years later, the same judge presided over the trial of a case of attempted murder, and his conduct of the trial provoked a cry of indignation even greater than took place in 1886, when the lads concerned in the Mount Rennie affair were condemned. George Dean, an ignorant and obscure ferry boat captain, growing tired of his wife, to whom he had been married a few years only, attempted to get rid of her by the aid of poison. The attempt was somewhat clumsy, and the case appeared clear to the magistrate who conducted the preliminary investigation. Dean was committed to take his trial in the Supreme Court and his defence was undertaken by a solicitor named Meagher. Mr. Justice Windeyer presided

at the trial and Dean was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. The jury however recommended him to mercy, on the ground that he had been instrumental in saving several persons from drowning. Before the Executive Council could deal with the case, there arose a strong public agitation, not merely for the commutation of the condemned man's sentence, but for his release, on the ground that he had had an unfair trial. The cause of George Dean was taken up in the most extraordinary way and by many representative persons. He was speedily transformed from a murderer into a hero. Had he not at the risk of his life saved the lives of his fellows? Was the theory of wife poisoning compatible with his fine, open, engaging countenance? His manly bearing? His previous good conduct? The agitation prevailed, and although the judge was absolutely convinced of the prisoner's guilt, his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. This however did not satisfy Dean's friends and the agitation continued. Not only was Dean not deserving of death at the hands of his country, but he was a deeply injured man, whose wife and mother-in-law had administered poison to the wife herself, in order to secure the hanging of the unfortunate husband. The judge came in for the most severe castigation, and it was unfortunate that there were incidents connected with the trial which savoured of unfairness towards the prisoner, and so his friends claimed for Dean his unconditional release. The persons clamouring for Dean's release were in a position to make their voices heard, for Meagher, the prisoner's solicitor, who had since the beginning of the agitation and on the strength of his advocacy of the claims of injured innocence, been elected to Parliament, was

able to plead his cause before the highest tribunal of the land. A Royal Commission was appointed to re-open the case, which after hearing much fresh evidence, especially in regard to the character of the parties, came to the conclusion that George Dean was not guilty. So the man was pardoned and released.

Shortly after his release had been ordered it transpired that Meagher, George Dean's solicitor, had said that he was aware of his client's guilt and the matter was mentioned in the Legislative Council, and afterwards Sir Julian Salomons, to whom Meagher had disclosed the fact that he knew Dean was guilty, moved the adjournment of the Council and made an important statement to the House with regard to the matter. Meagher replied in the Assembly to Sir Julian's speech, and flatly denied having made any admissions whatever touching his client's guilt, while Dean followed this up with an affidavit in which he solemnly protested his innocence. The Attorney-General, having proof of Dean's guilt and feeling certain of his position, issued warrants for the arrest of Messrs. Crick and Meagher on a charge of attempting to defeat the ends of justice. Mr. Crick easily cleared himself, and Meagher, by a statement made in his place in Parliament, confessed that he had deceived his partner and the country and expressed his sorrow for his conduct. Meagher resigned his seat in the Assembly and was further punished by being struck off the roll of solicitors. George Dean having received a pardon for his attempted murder could not therefore be sent back to gaol for that crime, but he was rearrested for perjury in connection with his affidavit and, being found guilty, was sent to penal servitude for four-

teen years. The Dean case is distinguishable from other criminal cases from the fact that it was the means by which several promising careers were wrecked, and by which the reputations of several persons who stood high in the political life of the country were imperilled.

Sir Henry Parkes died on 27th April, 1896. He was for many years before his death the most conspicuous figure in the public life of Australia, and had administered the affairs of New South Wales for a longer period than any other person. Born at Stoneleigh in Warwickshire he had very little schooling, having been compelled at a very early age to earn his own living. The want of early education he made up for by constant study and wide reading, so that in his after life he was amongst the best informed persons in the colony. He was twenty-four years of age when he left his native country to settle in Australia, and his early experience of colonisation was extremely bitter, as he arrived in New South Wales shortly before the acute crisis of 1843, and necessity compelled him to follow any occupation however uncongenial at which he could earn a livelihood. In 1848 he made his first appearance in politics as one of the secretaries of the committee which secured the election of Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, as representative of the town of Sydney in the Legislative Council, and in 1849 he became closely identified with the agitation for the abolition of transportation. His entrance on the possession of political power may however be dated from the year 1850, when Mr. Parkes began the publication of the *Empire* newspaper, which he carried on for seven years. The *Empire* from a literary and political point of view was very ably conducted. Mr.

Parkes soon became a person of great consequence. He strongly opposed Wentworth's constitution and allied himself with men of strong democratic leanings, and was one of the first men of importance to encourage the demand for an eight-hour day. In 1853 he made an unsuccessful attempt to enter the old elective Legislative Council as a member for Sydney, but next year he was successful. Thenceforward he was in the front rank of politics, but the political career of Sir Henry Parkes does not need recounting as it is written in the history of this colony. Sir Henry Parkes was knighted in the year 1877, a similar honour being conferred upon his old-time opponent, John Robertson.

Sir Henry was a very voluminous writer on political subjects, but besides he published several volumes of poetry, as well as a lengthy work of semi-autobiographical character entitled *Fifty Years of the Making of Australian History*. Sir Henry Parkes often claimed that his name was affixed to more acts of Parliament than any other person's, and his boast was a just one. Of all the laws of major importance with which his name was associated, he was most proud of the Municipalities Act, the Volunteer Act, Public Instruction Act, and the Railways Act, all very comprehensive measures.

The Government of Sir George Dibbs gave way in 1894 to one formed by Mr. G. H. Reid. The new ministry had difficulties with the Legislative Council almost from the start of its career; the Council differing with the Government in regard to its policy of direct taxation. Mr. Reid's ministry succeeded in passing several measures of primary importance. Of these the principal ones were a Customs Act introducing a policy of extreme free trade; Acts in-

posing Land and Income taxes; a Public Service Act placing the appointment and promotion of officers of the State in the hands of three commissioners independent of political control; a Crown Lands Act, and the Federal Enabling Act. Mr. Reid lost office in September, 1899, having held his post for five years and one month, a longer period than any previous premier; he was succeeded by Mr. W. J. Lyne, under the auspices of whose government the New South Wales contingent was sent to South Africa.

PART THREE.

VICTORIA.

CHAPTER IX.

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

VICTORIA has the distinction of containing the first portion of Australia sighted by Captain Cook in 1770. From Point Hicks, however, he turned northwards, and for nearly thirty years the south-eastern corner of the continent remained undisturbed by visits from white men. At the beginning of the year 1798, however, George Bass, in a whale-boat manned by six sailors, after touching at Ram Head and rounding Wilson's Promontory, where he encountered the strong tides which suggested to him the existence of the strait which now bears his name, cast anchor in Western Port. Having repaired his craft, he made some examination of the harbour. The scarcity of fresh water was a great difficulty, the only supply discoverable being furnished by a winding creek on its eastern side. During his stay only a few blacks were seen and a few kangaroos; "but black swans went by hundreds in a flight, and ducks—a small but excellent kind—by thousands."

Three years later, Lieutenant Grant, in the *Lady*

Nelson, visited Western Port. At his arrival he found Schnapper Island (so named by him) "covered with seals, numbers of which on our approach precipitated themselves into the sea, whilst others remained on the rocks, making a very disagreeable noise, somewhat like the grunting of pigs. They were of large size, many of them being nearly equal to that of a bullock." The whole of the coast, in fact, abounded with these animals and soon became the resort of sealers. Grant gave a more favourable description of the surrounding district than many succeeding voyagers. He found an extensive and level country, where the soil was rich and the grass abundant. In his opinion there was no land about Sydney or Parramatta better adapted for agriculture. Grant, indeed, may be regarded as the pioneer of farming in Victoria. Having discovered on the coast a beautiful well-wooded island, he conceived the idea of clearing a space and planting a garden upon it. The sole implement of husbandry possessed by his people was a coal shovel; but as the soil was loose and easily worked, the shovel proved equal to the task. Various seeds were sown, and when, six months later, Lieutenant Murray, who succeeded to the command of the *Lady Nelson*, returned to Western Port, he visited the island, which Grant had named Churchill Island, and held the first Victorian harvest-home. The wheat was found to be in full vigour, "six feet high and almost ripe." The onions had also "grown into seed," but the potatoes had disappeared, having evidently been devoured by bush animals. "I never," Murray says, "saw finer wheat or corn in my life, the straw being very nearly as large as young sugar-cane." Victorians, who very properly pride themselves upon the present

advanced state of agriculture in their colony, may recall with pleasure this first attempt at wheat growing.

Having sent his lieutenant, Bowen, to investigate the entrance of Port Phillip and having received a favourable report from him, Murray removed from Western Port, and on the 15th February, 1802, guided the *Lady Nelson*, all her sails set, into a vast land-locked bay, which he called Port King, but which is now known as Port Phillip. Murray, whose log is more than usually interesting, described the southern shore as consisting of "bold high land not clothed, as all the land of Western Port is, with thick bush, but with stout trees of various kinds," in some places "falling nothing short in beauty and appearance to Greenwich Park." To the east were mountains, one of which he called Arthur's Seat, in memory of the hill overlooking Edinburgh. Getting out of his boat, he went ashore and "walked through woods for a couple of miles. The ground was hard and pleasant to walk upon," and no undergrowth impeded their progress. The next day he made further explorations and had a brush with a party of treacherous aborigines. "On the 8th March the United Colours of Great Britain and Ireland were hoisted on board and on Point Patterson, and at one o'clock, under a discharge of three volleys of small arms and artillery, the port was taken possession of in the name of His Majesty George the Third, etc." The lieutenant naively adds: "Served double allowance of grog."

Owing probably to the failure of provisions and to the fact that his boats were unseaworthy Murray was unable to make a thorough survey of the harbour. That was reserved for Flinders, who, in the *Investi-*

gator, entered Port Phillip on the 27th April of the same year. At first he supposed it to be Western Port, although the narrow entrance did not correspond with the description given by Bass. In the course of his survey Flinders failed to find any "runs of fresh water." In 1803, however, Mr. Grimes, surveyor-general of New South Wales, found several streams, and "in particular a small river falling into the northern head of the harbour." The river was no doubt the Yarra, and is marked in the chart subsequently prepared by Flinders.

In recording these preliminaries to the settlement of Victoria, it is necessary to bear in mind that at the beginning of the nineteenth century England was in the midst of a life and death struggle with Napoleon. No actual fighting occurred in Australian waters, but it is quite clear the British authorities had to keep a watchful eye on the movement of all French vessels in the South Seas. It is equally clear that the various expeditions fitted out by Napoleon had more than scientific objects in view. French rivalry and the danger of French annexation were solid facts and had to be reckoned with by the early colonists of Australia. That the danger was not of a more serious character can only be ascribed to two things—to pure luck, and the destruction of the French naval power by Nelson.

It was the fear of French aggression constantly pressed upon the motive of the Colonial Office by Governor King, that led to the first attempt to plant a colony in Victoria. Acting on King's advice, the Imperial Government despatched in 1803 H.M.S. *Calcutta* and the transport *Ocean* with 299 convicts; the whole expedition being under the command of

Colonel David Collins, formerly Advocate-General of New South Wales. Collins, who had almost a free hand in the choice of a site, decided to give Port Phillip a trial. The *Calcutta* arrived there on the 10th October, and found the *Ocean* already at anchor. Before landing, Collins spent two days exploring the bay, and the impression he formed was extremely unfavourable. The soil was pronounced sandy and unfit for cultivation; water could be procured only by soakage into perforated casks sunk in the sand; and hostile blacks were reported to be in great strength at the head of the bay. It was easy for a man of his turn of mind to conjure up difficulties. His orders, however, obliged him to land and discharge the store-ship. The spot selected, now known as Sorrento, was a series of sand-hills, by no means calculated to allay the morbid apprehensions which he had entertained from the beginning. A camp was formed and then fresh troubles arose. The convicts were not easy to manage. Some of them escaped into the bush. Among the escapees was one William Buckley, who was found thirty years afterwards living in a state of savagery.

Collins' reports were so gloomy and so disparaging that Governor King sanctioned the removal of the settlement either to Port Dalrymple or to the Derwent. Collins made all haste to strike camp and depart from a spot where he had been a prey to morbid misgivings, which found utterance in predictions that sound strangely in modern ears.

"When all the disadvantages," he wrote, "attending the bay are publicly known, it cannot be supposed that commercial people will be very desirous of visiting Port Phillip." This foreboding can only be matched by the parting shot of a lieutenant on the

Calcutta, who wrote that the “Kangaroo seems to reign undisturbed lord of the soil—a dominion which, by the evacuation of Port Phillip, he is likely to retain for ages.”

The failure of Collins’ expedition was not an unmixed evil. It certainly gave Port Phillip an evil reputation which it by no means deserved, but it saved Victoria from the stain of convictism.

The evacuation took place in 1804, and but for the visits of sealers and whalers, the Port Phillip region was left severely alone for the next twenty years. The authorities, it is true, always had an uneasy feeling that France might pounce upon a district which England had failed to occupy effectively. They contented themselves, however, with simply watching the course of events. The sealers and whalers planted stations along the coasts and the trade prospered; but it was none of their business to open the eyes of the Government to the possible value of the country; even if they had any views on the subject, which is doubtful. Very little was done until Hamilton Hume and Captain Hovell, in 1824, made the first overland journey from New South Wales to Port Phillip. On November 16th they arrived at the banks of a broad serpentine river, the approach to which was rendered difficult by a succession of lagoons. This was the white man’s first sight of the Murray. Four days later they succeeded in crossing it by means of a boat “hastily constructed of wicker covered with tarpaulins.” Their course then lay across tributaries of the Murray and various spurs of the Dividing Range, until, from Mount Hodometer, they beheld a wide panorama of plain and forest country, extending to the utmost verge of the horizon. Pursuing their journey southward over the

plains, they suddenly found themselves in view of the sea. The land in the immediate vicinity they described as excellent, but clear of timber. The “water near the shore was covered with wild fowl;” among them many ducks and black swans, which enabled them to replenish their larder.

It is more than probable that both the explorers were under the impression that the point reached was on the shores of Western Port. Hume's letters show that he, as well as his companion, at first entertained this idea. Afterwards, however, he gave out that he did not share the mistake into which, he said, Hovell alone had fallen. The wordy warfare between the explorers is not cheerful reading and is not of much interest now. Their actual achievement, on the other hand, was of the utmost importance. The expedition disclosed the existence of much fine sheep country and removed the condemnation under which Victoria had lain since the attempt of Collins.

Partly as a result of the glowing reports brought back by Hume and Hovell, and partly as a result of renewed apprehension of French design, Governor Darling made an effort to plant a colony at Western Port. The expedition consisted of a party of convicts, in charge of Captains Wright and Wetherell, who were accompanied by Hovell, the explorer. They landed on Phillip Island, where they found a party of sealers; but afterwards removed their camp to the eastern side of the port. At first they were disposed to think well of the locality, but many disadvantages were discovered. The shores were surrounded by mud flats and the country inland was reported to be sterile, swampy, and impenetrable. Captain Wright informed the Governor that Western Port did “not possess sufficient capabilities for colon-

isation on a large scale." It is but fair to the memory of Hovell to say that, in a report furnished by him, a much more hopeful view of the situation was taken. The abandonment of the settlement cannot in justice be ascribed to him.

CHAPTER X.

THE HENTYS AT PORTLAND BAY.

THAT Port Phillip should have been so long neglected is somewhat singular, especially in view of the danger of French annexation. But there was in those days and for many years to come a strange timidity exhibited by the Imperial Government in regard to the occupation of new territories. It was thought, and not without some show of reason, that sporadic settlements at great distances from each other would be expensive and difficult to manage; and Colonial Governors agreed with Secretaries of State in discouraging them. Their principal endeavour, indeed, was to concentrate the colonists as much as possible. Even the extension of the pastoral population inland was regarded with disfavour. In 1834 a proposition made by Colonel Verner, M.P., for the purchase of land at Twofold Bay was rejected, and Lord Aberdeen, in a despatch to Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, spoke strongly against the further dispersion of the colonists.

But what the State, wedded to a policy of caution, refused to countenance or aid, was at that very time being carried out by private enterprise. Indeed the history of British colonisation suggests that, instead of it being true that trade follows the flag, the exact contrary is the truth. A book might easily be written upon unauthorised builders of Empire, and the

history of Australasia would present several good examples.

For some years past, as has been seen, the coasts of what is now called Victoria were the hunting grounds of many sealers and whalers. Although they kept to the shores, they may in a sense be regarded as *voortrekkers* of settlement. The permanent occupiers of the whaling-stations were a wild, daredevil, semi-barbarous crew; noted rum-drinkers, outlaws from the pale of respectable society; but for all their sodden ways, they were bold adventurers and pioneers, about whom it is a pity we know so little. It was this rum-drinking "horde" that spread the fame of the land at the northern end of Bass Strait, and so whetted the appetite of enterprising Tasmanians. Between 1830 and 1840 an exodus from Tasmania set in towards Victoria. "The Hentys led this invasion; Batman and Fawkner carried it on in another direction." Tasmania was indeed the mother of Victoria.

The Henty family deserves more than a passing mention. The father, Thomas Henty, was a Sussex farmer and banker, who kept flocks of merino sheep, originally purchased at the sale of George III.'s flock. As a sheep-owner he had had several business transactions with Australian colonists; and in 1829 he sent three of his seven sons to join the newly-founded settlement in Western Australia. They took with them a large establishment; no less than forty servants, and a considerable quantity of stock, which entitled them to a grant of over 80,000 acres of land. They were, however, disappointed in the quality of the land assigned to them, and, after wasting much of their capital, they proceeded in 1832 to Tasmania. There they were soon joined by their

father, who also paid a brief visit to Western Australia. On the way thither he is said to have called at Portland Bay, which impressed him as a suitable place for settlement.

When the Hentys reached Tasmania they found that the system of making free grants of land had been abolished the year before, and that there was, consequently, little scope for operations on a large scale. This circumstance caused them to turn their attention to Portland Bay, the country in the vicinity of which they appear to have explored. Memorials were presented to the Home Government asking permission to acquire property there, but before the question was dealt with, Edward and Stephen Henty had chartered a ship and conveyed live stock, implements and labourers to Portland Bay. The die was cast, the promoters of the enterprise knowing that they ran the risk of receiving no protection or authorisation from the Government. All that Mr. Henty now sought was a pledge that should Portland Bay ever become a Government colony, his possession should be confirmed. This pledge Lord Aberdeen refused to give, although he held out some hope that Mr. Henty's "pretensions to any land, actually brought into cultivation and surrounded by a fence, might be favourably regarded at a future occasion." This was in 1835, and in fulfilment of the vague promise then made, the Messrs. Henty received in 1846 a grant of land in or near the town of Portland, estimated at the time to be worth £2,000.

The success which attended the enterprise is clear proof of the ability and pluck of the founders of Portland. They imported, in small sailing vessels, sheep, cattle, pigs; they cultivated the ground; and to sheep-farming and agriculture they added whaling,

which at first was a profitable industry. So rapid was the progress made that six years after the commencement of operations, they estimated the value of their improvements to be £15,000. They had six separate stations, three of which were in the open country about sixty miles inland. Their house at Portland Bay contained twelve rooms; and round the homestead clustered barns, stores, stables, blacksmith's shop, carpenter's shop, dairy, etc. At that time fifty-three persons were employed on their estate. They had also cleared a considerable area of land, and made a good road to their inland stations, in the course of which three rivers had to be bridged.

When in 1840 Mr. Blair was sent as police magistrate to Portland Bay, he reported that the township contained at least 100 souls, and that the population of the entire district amounted to 600. During the preceding twelve months forty-nine vessels had visited the port, and Mr. Blair anticipated that 1,700 bales of wool were likely to be shipped that year.

It was this settlement that Major Mitchell found in 1836 to be the only outpost of civilisation in a country whose natural attractions had drawn from him the title *Australia Felix*. It was a red-letter day when the surveyor-general of New South Wales, issuing from the hitherto untrodden interior, shook hands with Edward Henty in the blacksmith's shop at Portland Bay.

Six years previously Captain Sturt had made his famous journey down the Murray to the sea. But his expedition was almost wholly *riverine*, and consequently threw little light upon the country between the lower Murray and the path followed by Hume. Mitchell, after confirming Sturt's opinion that the Darling joined the Murray, crossed the latter river

just below its junction with the Murrumbidgee, and entered upon a memorable tour of discovery. With every step he took his elation grew higher and higher, and his narrative is, in consequence, full of a cheery, almost poetic, optimism that contrasts pleasantly with the deadly monotony so characteristic of Australian tales of exploration. The reflections that occurred to him when seated on the top of Pyramid Hill may be taken as a fair specimen of the enthusiasm with which this goodly country inspired him. "The scene," he says, "was different from anything I had ever before witnessed, either in New South Wales or elsewhere, a land so inviting and still without inhabitants. As I stood, the first intruder on the sublime solitude of these verdant plains as yet untouched by flocks and herds, I felt conscious of being the harbinger of mighty changes there; for our steps would soon be followed by the men and animals for which it seemed to have been prepared." Crossing and naming the Loddon and Avoca, delighted at every stage by the sight of beautiful streams and valleys and grassy forest-land, he skirted the Dividing Range, and on July 18th reached the headwaters of the Wimmera. Twelve days later he struck the Glenelg; and launching his boats, proceeded down the river through country "the finest imaginable, either for sheep or cattle or cultivation."

On the 27th August the expedition reached the sea, where Mitchell was disappointed at finding a sandy bar instead of a good harbour. Still supposing himself the only white intruder on these fertile wilds, he returned to his depot up the Glenelg, and then made a journey on horseback to the east. From Mount Napier he obtained his first view of Portland Bay, about fifteen miles distant. What he found

there on the following day and his surprise thereat may be best described in his own language. "Proceeding round the bay with the intention of examining the head of the inlet and continuing along the shores as far as Cape Bridgewater, I was struck with the resemblance to houses that some supposed grey rocks under the grassy cliffs presented; and while I directed my glass towards them, my servant Brown said he saw a brig at anchor; a fact of which I was soon convinced, and also that the grey rocks were in reality wooden houses. We ascended these cliffs near the wooden houses, which proved to be some deserted sheds of the whalers. One shot was heard as we drew near these sheds, and another on our ascending the rocks. I then became somewhat apprehensive that the parties might either be, or suppose us to be, bushrangers, and to prevent, if possible, some such awkward mistake, I ordered the men to fire a gun and sound the bugle; but on reaching the higher ground we discovered not only a beaten track, but the track of two carts, and while we were following up the latter a man came towards us from the face of the cliffs. He informed me in answer to my questions that the vessel at anchor was the *Elizabeth* of Launceston; and that just round the point there was a considerable farming establishment belonging to the Messrs. Henty, who were then at the house."

He was kindly received by the Hentys, and during his stay was greatly impressed by the flourishing condition of the settlement. "A good garden stocked with abundance of vegetables already smiled on Portland Bay; the soil was very rich on the over-hanging cliffs, and the potatoes and turnips produced there surpassed in magnitude and quality any I

had ever seen elsewhere. I learned that the bay was much resorted to by vessels engaged in the whaling industry, and that upwards of 700 tons of oil had been shipped there that season. Messrs. Henty were importing sheep and cattle as fast as vessels could bring them over."

On the return journey Mitchell made a detour to the east, discovering more valuable country, ready to the hand of the coloniser. From Mount Macedon he recognised Port Phillip and the intervening country around it, "at a distance afterwards ascertained to be upwards of fifty miles from Indented Head, which proved to be the first cape I saw. At that vast distance I could trace no signs of life about the harbour." He does not appear to have been aware of the events which were taking place at Port Phillip and which will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

BATMAN AND FAWKNER.

IN the same year in which the Hentys settled at Portland Bay an association was formed in Tasmania to obtain land for pastoral purposes in the Port Phillip district. The promoter of this company was John Batman, a native of Parramatta, who since 1821 had resided in Tasmania, where he had distinguished himself by capturing the noted bushranger Brady. In 1827 he had applied for leave to join Wright's settlement in Western Port, proposing to ship there stock to the value of £5,000. His application was dismissed, but when the success of Henty's venture got to be known, he determined to act without official authority, in the hope that his intended occupation would be respected by the Government. His plan was to open up communication with the natives and obtain from them grants of land; and it does not seem to have occurred to him that the Government might question the validity of any contracts made between himself and the natives.

Accompanied by a few white men and some New South Wales aborigines, he left Launceston on the 12th May, 1835. Bad weather ensued, and the voyage to Port Phillip took nineteen days. He landed first at Indented Head, where he soon satisfied himself that the adjoining country was well adapted for sheep-rearing. On the second day he endeavoured to get into touch with some blacks whose fires had been

seen the previous evening. On arrival at the spot it was found that the natives had departed. The explorers thereupon gave chase, and ultimately came up with a party of twenty women and twenty-four children, to whom they made a liberal present of blankets and trinkets, hoping thereby to enlist the friendly feeling of the tribe to which they belonged. Some days after, the *Rebecca* was sailed up the bay to the mouth of the Yarra, where the party landed. Following the left bank of the river, they came upon parklike pasture lands, which must have gladdened the heart of Batman, who was an experienced pastoralist. Two days they marched through similar country, till at last they came up with the tribe they were in search of. The meeting place is usually located on the banks of the Merri Creek, but authorities differ on the point. Friendly relations having been established, Batman explained to his own satisfaction and apparently to the satisfaction of the natives the nature of the proposals he had to make. It was his desire, he said, to purchase from them a tract of country upon which he and his family might settle with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. In return for the land he undertook to pay them an annual tribute, in addition to the purchase "money," which consisted of blankets, knives, etc., so arranged as to whet the appetite of the simple black fellow. Little persuasion was required. With alacrity and evident light-heartedness, the chiefs attached their marks to a contract which had been drawn up in skeleton before Batman left Launceston. By this deed they were supposed to have made over to Batman's company a tract of country extending from Merri Creek to Indented Head, in all about 600,000 acres. It is hardly necessary to say that they had no idea of the

meaning of the contract, and that for the same display of gifts they would have signed their own death warrant. Batman, however, seems to have been unaware of the humour of the situation.

Elated with this stroke of business, he rejoined the *Rebecca*, which was lying at anchor in the Yarra, and after selecting a site which he considered suitable for a village, he returned to Indented Head. There he left some of his party, with instructions, no doubt, to warn off possible interlopers. The leader himself repaired to Tasmania to report the success of his negotiations and to enlist the interest of Governor Arthur in the proposed settlement.

During his absence a rival expedition appeared in Port Phillip. This had been organised by John Pascoe Fawkner, originally for the purpose of taking up land in the vicinity of Western Port. The expedition, which, owing to the illness of Fawkner, was led by Captain Lancey, not finding that district to its liking, went round to Port Phillip, which was entered on the 16th August, 1835. On the 29th the *Enterprise*, the craft in which they sailed, proceeded up the Yarra for about eight miles, when some falls prevented their further progress by water. This spot, the same as that already selected for a village by Batman, was surrounded by picturesque undulating country, lightly timbered, and parklike in appearance. Having landed their belongings, the immigrants lost no time in setting to work to clear the ground for a camp. In the midst of their work they were interrupted by the unexpected appearance of one of Batman's party, who ordered them off the ground as the property of the Association. They refused to go, and Batman's representative withdrew. He returned again with others of the party, prepared

to eject their rivals by force. After some altercation, the Fawknerites agreed, on the receipt of £20, to cross to the other side of the stream. Not long afterwards, however, Fawkner arrived with more men and re-occupied the site from which his followers had retired. By that time it was apparent that Batman's claim could not be regarded as valid.

The feud between the rival settlers was not of long duration. Both were soon swamped by the inrush of colonists, who cared nothing for the original companies and their claims. Once started, the settlement advanced with a rapidity surprising even in colonial history. At the end of the year 1835 it consisted of "two weather-boarded huts, with brick chimneys, and eight or ten sodden erections." The population numbered about fifty, and the live stock comprised a few horses, 100 head of cattle and 1,400 sheep. In the middle of the year 1838 the place had grown out of recognition. "Brick buildings were numerous, some boasting two and even three stories." Hotels had sprung up; streets were macadamised; banks and agencies of all kinds were established. On every side were evidences of an almost feverish activity and enterprise. The first newspaper—owned by Fawkner—came out on January 1st, 1838; but the first nine issues being in manuscript, the circulation was limited to one copy, which was displayed at Fawkner's Hotel for the benefit of the public.

For a time all the new arrivals came from Tasmania, bringing their cattle and sheep by sea. But Hume and Mitchell had shown the way to the nomadic pastoralists of the north, who soon began to pour their flocks and herds across the Murray. In those days they were known as the "overlanders." Attacked thus from north and south, the Port Phillip

territory was in a few years overspread by settlers, chiefly sheep-farmers.

In the meantime the authorities in Sydney, unable to restrain the movements just recorded, were obliged to take steps to put the settlement on a legal basis and to regulate the acquirement of land. It was impossible for the Government to recognise the treaty which Batman had made with the natives. As Professor Jenks puts it, "either Port Phillip was British territory or it was not. If it was, the aborigines could make no title without the consent of the Crown; if it was not, the settlers would have no claim to British protection—might indeed be treated as political enemies."

Under these circumstances Sir Richard Bourke issued (August, 1835) a proclamation in which he claimed that the Port Phillip settlement was within the limits of New South Wales. He warned the settlers that treaties made with the aboriginal natives were null and of no effect against the Crown, and that all persons found in possession of lands without licenses would be considered trespassers and punished accordingly. After the lapse of a year, during which the southern colonists continued to exist very well without the machinery of law or government, Mr. Stewart was despatched from Sydney with instructions to examine into the condition of Port Phillip. On his arrival he found that the settlement consisted of 177 white persons, who occupied about "100 miles of country." Scattered over this area were 100 head of cattle, 57 horses, and 26,500 sheep. The result of this enquiry was that the Governor formally declared the district open for colonisation, and appointed Mr. William Lonsdale to act as Police Magistrate. The Home Government con-

curred, practically giving Bourke a free hand, and thus abandoning its academic objections to the further dispersion of the colonists.

In 1837 Bourke paid an official visit to the settlement, in the course of which he laid out the site of Melbourne, which had hitherto been known as the "Settlement" or by the curious title Bearbrass. In the report to the Secretary of State he recommended the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor or Commandant; advice which was shortly afterwards carried into effect.

In the following year a magistrate was appointed to the Batman settlement at Corio Bay, a settlement that ultimately grew into the town of Geelong. Batman after a short struggle had abandoned his claims, and the Government allowed the Association to purchase lands to the value of £7,000. In 1836 the Association ceased to exist.

CHAPTER XII.

SEPARATION FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

IN July, 1839, Mr. Charles Latrobe was gazetted Superintendent of Port Phillip, with powers that would have been more correctly covered by the term Lieutenant-Governor. During the early years of his administration the progress of the colony continued to be rapid, and so uneventful that it is difficult to fasten upon points of general interest. For some time the population doubled itself every year, and flocks began to roam over the greater part of the territory. From New South Wales numbers of squatters passed south of the Murray. They were an enterprising race, most of them of good family, "officers of the army and navy, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge." Such men brought a new element into bush life.

Systematic exploration was not neglected. In 1840 Angus Macmillan discovered the fertile district now known as Gippsland; Strzelecki, after tracing the Murray to its source in the Australian Alps and discovering and naming Mount Kosciusko, traversed the Omeo district, and then crossing the Dividing Range explored the magnificent country between the mountains and the sea. Adventurous squatters soon followed in the wake of the explorers.

The native question in Victoria was never really serious. At one time, it is true, isolated outrages were not uncommon. Huts were plundered, sheep

carried off, shepherds murdered. But the blacks soon ceased from troubling, and no difficulties such as arose in Tasmania and Queensland interfered with the peaceful occupation of Victoria. In 1840 stations or villages had been laid out along the road from Sydney to Melbourne and police protection secured to travellers; the aborigines were, of course, not the only or the chief danger, for bushranging had already made its appearance.

One of the principal difficulties the Port Phillip settler had to contend with was the land question. The first land sales had been regulated by the policy laid down by Lord Ripon in 1831, in pursuance of which Crown lands could only be disposed of by public auction. The Government fixed a minimum price and the land went to the highest bidder. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, however, wedded to the system in vogue in South Australia, where land was allotted to applicants without competition, at the uniform price of £1 per acre, recommended that the fixed price system should be put into practice at Port Phillip also. Their recommendations were accepted. The land regulation of 1840 authorised the continuance of the auction system in towns, the minimum price being fixed at £200 per acre. Beyond the town areas, however, there was to be no competition, but land was to be sold to applicants in order of application at £1 per acre. Sir George Gipps was strongly opposed to this measure. He pointed out that by applying it to suburban land round Melbourne and Geelong, the Government would lose over a million sterling. His reasoning was soon confirmed. An English gentleman, Henry Dendy, purchased from the Commissioners 8,000 square miles of land, on the understanding that he might

select it anywhere outside the limits of Melbourne. Although this claim was valid in law, the Government refused to allow the transaction and forbade for the time being the further sale of suburban land. Owing to Gipps' vigorous action, the 1840 Regulation gave place to the Crown Lands Sales Act of 1842, which restored the system of public auction.

One clause in the new Act—that forbidding the sale of any land at less than £1 per acre—gave rise to widespread opposition. The newly-created Legislative Council of 1842 took the matter up, the opponents of the clause declaring that so high a price would cripple the expansion of the colony. The Governor was not to be moved by their arguments. He pointed out that to give to a small number of settlers, mere advance guards of a future population of millions, a moral claim to the whole land of the colony, would be perpetrating a great injustice upon future generations. It would inevitably create a “tyranny of landowners,” on a scale never before witnessed. The obnoxious clause, as a matter of fact, interfered in no way with the sale of land of Port Phillip; on the contrary, between 1847 and 1850 the sales increased enormously.

In 1842 an act had been passed allowing Port Phillip to be represented by six members in the Legislative Council of New South Wales. On the occasion of the first election, no fewer than four of those elected were residents of Sydney; a fact that boded ill for the permanence of the arrangement. From the outset there was a strong desire for separation from New South Wales. To have to send their representatives all the way to Sydney was bad enough; but to have to entrust its interests to Sydney politicians was an arrangement that could not

be expected to please a thriving and ambitious colony. The Separationist cause, curiously enough, was warmly supported by Dr. Lang, who, in 1844, moved in the Legislative Council that steps be taken for "the speedy and entire separation of the district of Port Phillip from the territory of New South Wales, and its erection into a separate and independent colony." The motion was rejected by nineteen votes to six, the minority including Mr. Robert Lowe (afterwards Lord Sherbrooke). Memorials and petitions were then addressed to the Home Government, the colonists losing no opportunity of urging their claims to independence.

The agitation reached a climax in 1848, when the electors of Port Phillip having induced the local candidates to withdraw, went through the farce of electing Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, as member for Melbourne. Although legal opinion pronounced this election valid, the Governor refused to be a party to what he regarded as insolent bravado. No notification was made in the *Gazette*, and a new election was ordered, this time Geelong being selected as head polling-place. The result was that the vacancies were filled. The agitation, however, forced the hands of the Government, and an article was embodied in the Constitution Act of 1850, by virtue of which article the Port Phillip district became an independent colony, with the title of Victoria. At that period its population was over 76,000 and its exports amounted to £760,000. Mr. Latrobe was appointed first Governor of the colony.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISCOVERY OF GOLD.

Up to 1851 the development of Victoria had been purely pastoral. That year, however, brings to us a new era, in which the conditions prevailing both in New South Wales and Victoria were transformed by the most potent of all magics—the discovery of gold.

At the opening of this *annus mirabilis* a disaster occurred which is still remembered with bitterness. On the 6th February, Black Thursday, a great fire, fanned by a hot wind, carried devastation over hundreds of miles of country. Before the rush of the flames people fled from their homes panic-stricken; horses and cattle stampeded, and were joined by multitudes of terrified bush animals, all seeking to escape the devouring conflagration, which scorched up acres of forest at a breath. The streets of Melbourne, we are told, were littered by ashes from the burning forests of Mount Macedon, nearly fifty miles distant. A curious prelude to the events that followed!

Long before the so-called discovery in 1851 by Mr. Hargreave, gold was known to exist in various parts of the eastern colonies; but the fact does not seem to have created more than a passing curiosity. Strzelecki, in 1839, reported the existence of an “auriferous sulphuret of iron” in the Vale of Clwydd; and a resident of Sydney, the Rev. W. B. Clarke, declared as early as 1841 that gold existed in Australia.

The authorities, however, fearing the effect upon a large convict population, discouraged the publication of such reports. But it is clear that the existence of gold was known to a good many persons, who for more or less selfish motives kept the results of their prospecting a profound secret. The Scotch shepherd who for years had been picking grains of gold from the rocks in Wellington valley was probably only one of many clandestine fossickers. In 1849 a Victorian shepherd brought to Melbourne a piece of quartz containing 16 oz. of gold, which, he said, he had picked up in the Pyrenees. At that time the rush to California had set in, and the exodus from Australia threatened to become serious unless some local attractions were provided. More attention was therefore given to the rumours then in circulation, and search parties were sent out in all directions. In 1851 the sum of £200 was offered for the discovery of a gold mine within 200 miles of Melbourne. Thereupon discovery followed discovery with startling rapidity; July 5th at Anderson's Creek, August 8th at Buninyong, September 8th at Ballarat, and on December 10th at Bendigo. At these places and others fortunes—so it seemed in the first flush of excitement—were to be made in a few hours.

Governor Latrobe made haste to issue a proclamation protecting the rights of the Crown. Regulations were issued—copied from those in force in the northern colony—and licenses were offered for sale. But in the wild scramble and full tide of immigration, the Governor's proclamation fell on ears that heard not. There was no Government machinery in existence capable of coping with the sudden emergency, and as a consequence many mistakes were made. The methods adopted of issuing and inspect-

ing licenses were far from being prudent or conciliatory. The inrush of people continued and increased. By the autumn of 1852 over 70,000 men were digging for gold in Victoria. A little later 40,000 men might have been seen camped on the banks of the Yarrowee; 25,000 round Mount Alexander, and 40,000 more at Bendigo. Among this multitude there were many Tasmanian convicts, many gaol-birds and criminals from every country in the world. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the digging population consisted largely of this type; on the contrary, the adventurers who poured into Melbourne in those days were for the most part the picked men of all classes; men who combined pluck and determination with the power to endure the privations that always fall to the lot of diggers in a new country.

To a government so wholly unprepared as that of Victoria, it was an immense task to control or to attempt to control the invading hordes, many of whom were lawless, and all of whom had a contempt for official bungling. Latrobe was powerless and badly advised. "Digger-hunts," held twice a week to discover unlicensed diggers, were the source of intense irritation among all classes of miners. Many of the officers charged with the enforcement of the license regulation were indiscreet, not to say brutal. The sight of fifty handcuffed diggers—no uncommon sight—may have delighted the inexperienced cadet; in the crowd it roused only the angriest passions. To add to the flame, the Government was foolish enough to propose the increase of the licensing fee from thirty shillings to £3 per month. It was urged that this was the only feasible means of meeting the increased expenditure involved in maintaining order

upon the gold-fields. Further, it was hoped that unsuccessful miners, unable to pay the double fee, would be induced to return to occupations which, since the outburst of the gold fever, had been utterly neglected, to the no small inconvenience of all classes. All along Latrobe had had misgivings. He was soon to see that the increase of the fee was a huge blunder. From all quarters, from the towns as well as the gold-fields, a furious clamour arose. The fee was denounced as a tyrannous impost, and violent harangues were delivered to thousands, in all the great centres of mining. A reign of anarchy seemed imminent. At Forest Creek, one of the speakers, addressing a vast gathering of 14,000 men, urged a refusal to pay any fee whatever. It was ultimately decided not to pay the increased fee and to resort to force in self-defence. At Geelong a similar meeting was held and violent diatribes were launched against the Government. Latrobe, having no means of checking the disorder, was obliged to surrender. The *Gazette* notice was withdrawn, the Government proclaiming, as if from the housetops, its own weakness and vacillation.

At this stage it may be as well to recall the "form and features" of the "roaring days" in Victoria. The port of Melbourne was like a vast camp where thousands arrived every week. They were a motley host, speaking a babel of languages. Yellow men from Canton, Malays from Singapore, mingled with adventurers from every country of Europe, from America, from the islands of the "Seven Seas." Ship after ship emptied its human cargo, and then lay idly in the harbour, crewless and masterless. In April, 1852, forty-seven ships lay deserted in the stream, unable to find men for the homeward journey.

One unprotected vessel was robbed of gold dust valued at £25,000 sterling. In the general confusion such outrages might be perpetrated with impunity. Lawless spirits, chiefly escaped convicts from over the Straits, were abroad. They rooked the "new-chum" and "stuck-up" the successful miner, or, banded together in ruffianly gangs, waylaid and robbed the gold-escorts.

In Melbourne there was not accommodation for a tithe of the people disgorged by constantly arriving ships. Tents were pitched in all the open spaces, and these canvas towns were often the scenes of indecent orgies and acts of rowdyism. Many of the newcomers were destitute and suffered great hardships, until shelters were erected for them at the public expense. For years the stream of immigration continued. Fifteen thousand arrived by sea in the latter half of 1851, 90,000 odd in 1852, and in the three following years nearly a quarter of a million.

The roads leading from the capital to the mining centres presented scenes scarce equalled in fiction. These roads were for the most part little more than bush-tracks. With the continual going and coming of hundreds of drays and thousands of pedestrians, they became, in wet weather, ever-broadening quagmires, in which drays and waggons sank up to the axles. Men, women, and even children trudged along, often carrying on their backs such tools as were deemed necessary to extract the gold from the soil. Every imaginable type was represented, every imaginable costume. In the great throng were men of every social layer; men of every profession and trade down to footpads and criminals eager for the slitting of throats. Excitement was on every face; for the wildest rumours were rife of fortunes won at

a blow of the pick. And some of these rumours were true. As witness the finding of the Canada Gully nugget, which weighed 1,620 oz.

The scene on the fields was strangely picturesque. Thousands of tents and huts dotted the landscape. During the day an army of sun-burned, bearded men burrowed the earth or wheeled and cradled the golden dirt; at night they sat round their camp-fires, talking, smoking, singing; or swelled the throng that frequented the stores and grog shanties, which latter were countless and did a "roaring" trade. A week before, perhaps, what was now a vast encampment had been but a typical Australian gully, untenanted, save by a few bush animals.

In the towns and in the country districts outside the limits of the diggings all the minor industries were at a standstill. Everybody who could armed himself with pick and shovel and joined the multitudes proceeding to Ballarat, Bendigo, or Forest Creek. Although enormous wages were offered, servants and labourers were often unprocurable. Carpenters and blacksmiths were greatly in demand at a pound or twenty-five shillings a day. Cartage to the fields amounted to as much as £100 a ton. A few far-sighted men made fortunes by catering for the wants or vices of the miners, who spent money with the utmost freedom. Grog shanties, dancing and gambling saloons sprang up like mushrooms and thrrove on the hard-won earnings of the diggers. In many cases, perhaps in the majority of cases, the lucky digger, before quitting the field, fell among speculators and thieves, and the Crœsus of yesterday often found himself the Lazarus of to-day.

CHAPTER XIV.

EUREKA STOCKADE.

IN 1852 a despatch was received from the Home Government instructing Mr. Latrobe to place the gold revenue at the disposal of the Legislature. A suggestion was also made that additional revenue might be raised "either by an export duty on gold or by a royalty." At Latrobe's earnest request reinforcements were despatched. Fifty police arrived and a man-of-war was ordered round from Sydney. An Export Duty Bill was introduced, but it was shelved almost immediately, owing to the outbreak of further disorder at Forest Creek, where at a mass meeting it was resolved to pay no license fee at all, should an export duty be levied. Again the Government surrendered. Its helplessness enabled demagogues, agitators, and miscreants of all sorts to play upon the passions of the mob. Every act of the Government or of the police was construed into an act of tyranny. At the Owen's River a man was killed by the accidental discharge of a policeman's firelock. Result, a riot and more violent oratory. The police were in the habit of burning tents, the occupants of which were found in possession of private stills. At Forest Creek they burnt one belonging to innocent men; whereat a public meeting was called and notices were posted, some of which ran thus: "Down with oppression! Diggers, avenge your wrongs! Cry 'No quarter!'" The magis-

trates hastened to make reparation. The informer received five years for perjury and the owners of the tent were awarded damages. The demagogues, however, balked in their designs, accused the authorities of bribery.

In August, delegates from all the various mining centres waited upon the Governor. They poured out their grievances and made "demands," some of which were reasonable, but were tendered in a dictatorial manner. Latrobe said that he would consider, but that he had no power to alter existing laws. At a public meeting convened by the Mayor of Melbourne, the delegates gave free vent to their troubles. Some of them threatened that if their demands were not granted a hundred thousand diggers would ring Melbourne round with fire; and orderly citizens saw with regret that these sentiments evoked much sympathy from the audience. The delegates returned and reported that the capital was with the miners. Shortly afterwards Mr. Latrobe published his reply to the deputation. He argued the questions in dispute, and ended by producing a mild homily which nobody heeded. He said that the law must be kept, and at the same time instructed the gold commissioners to refrain from compulsory measures in enforcing it. The Government was at its wits' end, yet it found resolution enough to despatch 150 soldiers to Bendigo and to land marines to guard the gaols in Melbourne. Further reinforcements were getting ready to start from Hobart and also from Sydney. Had these steps been taken earlier, the trouble would have vanished, and the Government would have been able to carry out reforms in a peaceful manner. Latrobe was obviously unsuited to deal with the times. For long he had been anxious to escape from an office

which required a more resolute head than his; it was, therefore, a relief to him when he was acquainted with the appointment as Governor of Sir Charles Hotham, a distinguished naval officer, known to be strong as well as urbane and polite.

Hotham was received with much rejoicing in Melbourne, and also on the gold-fields, which he lost no time in visiting. At Bendigo the miners unyoked his horses and dragged his carriage into the town, and the air resounded with expressions of loyalty. Few at that time recognised the determined character of the new Governor, who had not walked a quarter-deck in vain.

It was no sinecure he had taken up. At his arrival the Treasury showed a deficiency of a million—a result due to extravagant expenditure. The diggers shirked the payment of license fees, so that the revenue from that source was small. In July the Governor called the attention of the chief commissioner to this irregularity, and in September he directed the assistant commissioners should make a bi-weekly search for unlicensed miners. This was regarded as a most unwise step, calculated to provoke rather than to allay the ferment.

A few days after a miner was killed in a struggle at Ballarat. Bentley, the keeper of a low public-house, his wife and a man named Farrell were arrested; but though the evidence was strong against Bentley, he was acquitted, through the agency, it was currently reported, of the presiding magistrate. The acquittal was like the spark to the powder magazine. Bentley's house was rushed by thousands of infuriated men, who looted it and then burnt it to the ground. The police were just able to save Bentley from being lynched.

Apprised of the circumstances, the Governor offered a reward for the murderer, and Bentley, together with his male accomplices, was convicted and sentenced to hard labour on the roads. The presiding magistrate, who seems to have been a corrupt creature, was dismissed. But prompt as he had been to admit that a wrong had been done, Hotham nevertheless took measures to prevent popular outbreaks by placing on the spot 450 soldiers and policemen, under the command of Captain J. W. Thomas. Some of the rioters, moreover, who had taken part in burning Bentley's house were sentenced to short periods of imprisonment.

At Ballarat a Reform League was formed, with the avowed object of removing the power that "tyrannised" over them, and deprived them of representation. The Governor, nothing daunted, proceeded to appoint a commission to report on the administration of the gold-fields; and when a deputation demanded the release of three men imprisoned on account of the Bentley *fracas*, they were met with a polite but firm refusal. On the subject of representation for miners, the Governor explained that a bill conferring the suffrage on all holders of a miner's right had been sent to England, and offered to allow them to elect a representative, whom he would nominate to the Council. This offer was rejected with scorn, and the Governor could do no more.

In the meantime mischievous agents went in and out among the miners stirring up disaffection and distributing red ribbons. At Ballarat, on the arrival of a detachment of troops, the mob maltreated some of the soldiers. A flag of insurrection was hoisted at a mass meeting. A German named Verner suggested the burning of licenses, and immediately a heap of

miners' rights was ablaze. Other speakers denounced the marching of soldiers with fixed bayonets into a peaceable country.

On the 30th November Commissioner Johnstone was pelted with stones while endeavouring to examine licenses, and the crowd grew so threatening that the military had to be summoned. Scattered for a moment, the crowd now began to make preparations for a more determined struggle. Peter Lalor, well and favourably known afterwards in Victorian politics, was elected leader and commenced to drill the insurgents. Those that could not procure guns, manufactured pikes; and delegates were sent to other places to muster recruits. Thousands of armed diggers paraded before the camp, where Captain Thomas coolly bided his time. Strong parties were told off to intercept reinforcements expected from Melbourne. Random shots were fired into the camp. On the 2nd, Thomas was informed that an entrenchment and stockade were being formed in Eureka Street, with the intention of giving a warm reception to General Mickle, who was advancing from Melbourne with a detachment of soldiers and marines. He therefore determined to deliver an attack next morning. At half-past two on Sunday morning he assembled his men, 100 mounted and 176 foot soldiers, and at three o'clock led them forth with the simple statement that they might have to use their weapons. As soon as they were on the march, signal shots were fired by sentinels posted by the rioters on the road leading to the stockade. On reaching it the column spread out in skirmishing order. They had no sooner done so than a shower of bullets was poured upon them from the entrenchment and from behind a barrier of ropes, stakes, and overturned carts. The

charge was sounded, and with one determined rush the stockade was captured and the insurgent flag hauled down. Captain Wise of the 40th Regiment was mortally wounded; four soldiers were killed; thirty of the diggers were killed and 125 were taken prisoners.

The *emeute* was at an end, and both parties began to argue about the honours of war, each party contending that it was outnumbered by the other. However that might be, the victory was decisive. The leaders, some of whom were mere braggarts, fled; and when General Mickle arrived he found little to do except to proclaim martial law for a few days, and make arrests of such of the ringleaders as could be found.

Agitation of a somewhat noisy character was continued in Melbourne, but the Governor pursued his own course, refusing to make concession to demonstrations of physical force, but ready to adopt constitutional means to ameliorate the wrongs of the miners. After the report of the gold-fields commission had been received, steps were at once taken to abolish license fees and to replace them by miners' rights, each of which cost a pound per annum. Electoral privileges were conferred upon the mining population, and two members each were assigned to Bendigo, Ballarat, and Castlemaine. In the meantime, the Eureka prisoners were brought up for trial, but as no jury could be got to convict them, they were acquitted amid scenes of the wildest enthusiasm. So ended a painful but picturesque incident, brought about largely by official timidity and delay and by regulations harshly administered.

CHAPTER XV.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

TRANQUILLITY having thus been established upon the gold-fields, the Governor found time to carry out his proposed reform of the finances of the colony. For years past there had been scandalous mismanagement. The estimates of 1855 showed an expenditure of more than two millions in excess of the revenue. A committee was appointed to investigate this singular state of affairs, and the result was the reduction of the anticipated deficit to £53,668.

For some time past a committee had been at work in Victoria drafting a new constitution. Here, as in the other colonies, the bi-cameral system was recommended. The colonies differed from each other and the Mother Country in details, and these differences, apparently trifling, have led to curious divergences in their political history. In Victoria, members of the Upper House or Legislative Council were to be elected for ten years, but every two years a certain number had to retire and submit themselves to re-election. The Assembly was more democratic, the electoral qualifications being the possession for six months of freehold worth £5 a year or of leasehold worth £10 a year, or of a salary of £100 a year. Even the mining population, fluctuating and heterogeneous as it was, received the franchise, the sole condition being the possession of a miner's right. It was provided that all money bills should originate in

the Assembly, and that they could be rejected but not altered by the Council. The Victorian Bill received the Royal Assent on the 23d November, 1855.

The death of Governor Hotham took place almost at the same time as the granting of Responsible Government. He found the colony on his arrival on the verge of a civil war. When he died Eureka Stockade with all the bitterness that had caused it was fast becoming a picturesque memory: the Augean stables of finance had been cleaned; municipal institutions had been inaugurated; the first railways opened; the Melbourne University founded, and steps taken to provide a popular system of education. Hotham was succeeded by Sir Henry Barkly, a man of great tact and ability, qualities very much needed in the early days of Responsible Government. Changes were soon made in the new constitution. These all tended in the direction of a more thorough-going democracy. In a few years manhood suffrage and voting by ballot were established and the small property qualifications for Members of the Assembly were abolished.

In 1857 the Philosophical Institution of Victoria began to busy itself with schemes for the exploration of the continent. Hitherto Victoria had done little to second the efforts of the other colonies in this direction. In 1858 an anonymous enthusiast offered £100 to a Victorian exploration fund on condition that a further sum of £200 should be subscribed during the year. The specified sum having been subscribed, the Government voted £6,000 for the fund and spent £3,000 more on the purchase of camels. An expedition was then organised and placed under the leadership of Robert O'Hara Burke, with W. J. Wills as surveyor, neither of whom had much experi-

ence in exploration. The aim of the expedition was to cross the continent from sea to sea. Before leaving settled country Burke quarrelled with Landells, his second in command, and this was prelude to a series of mistakes and misunderstandings which ended in final disaster. At Menindie he left a portion of the party in charge of a man named Wright, whilst he himself pushed forward until he came to the banks of Cooper's Creek, where, attracted by good pasture and abundance of water, he formed a depot. Here he waited for Wright, who had been instructed to come on more leisurely; but as Wright did not appear, Burke decided to advance without further delay. Leaving four of the party at the depot, he set out accompanied by Wills and two others, and supplied with provisions for three months. This was on the 16th December, 1860. After traversing a portion of Sturt's Stony Desert, they struck the Diamantina; and then proceeding over well-grassed plains, with numerous water-holes, they at length reached the Flinders and the Sea.

The return journey was more difficult. Provisions were running short, the camels were failing, and constant rains made travelling slow and wearisome. One of the party died, and when the survivors reached the depot in a half-starving condition on the 21st April, 1861, it was only to find it empty. Brahe, who had been left in charge, had that very morning departed to meet Wright, who partly through sickness and partly through bad management had not yet arrived. Thus abandoned Burke decided to make for some cattle stations in South Australia, and a letter stating his intention was buried in the hole in which they had found the provisions left for them by Brahe. When Brahe returned to the camp

there was no sign that anybody had been there in his absence. Giving his leader up for lost, he hurried back to Melbourne. In the meantime Burke, Wills, and King, foiled in their attempt to reach the cattle station, returned once more to the depot. For a time death was warded off by friendly blacks, who supplied them with a small quantity of nardoo and a few fish.

But their strength gradually failed and first Wills and then Burke succumbed. King managed to exist until rescued by Howitt's party. So ended an expedition that had been dogged by ill-luck from the beginning. The bodies of Burke and Wills were recovered and brought back to Melbourne, where they were buried on the 28th December, 1862, the funeral being one of the most impressive scenes ever witnessed in the capital.

The administration of Sir Charles Darling, who succeeded Sir Henry Barkly in 1863, was characterised by an angry conflict, between the advocates of free trade and the advocates of protection, and this conflict led to a protracted quarrel between the Council and the Assembly. The great majority of the people were in favour of a protective tariff and the popular Assembly represented the views of the majority. The Council, on the other hand, supported by an influential minority, were as strongly in favour of free trade, and rejected a Bill, which had been passed by the Lower House for the purpose of introducing protective duties. The Assembly then adopted the expedient of tacking the measure on to the Appropriation Bill, but the Council was still obdurate and rejected both. Thereupon the Government began to collect duties on the authority of the Lower House alone, and also to borrow money for

the payment of the Public Service. This action was pronounced illegal by the Supreme Court and another attempt was made to pass the Tariff Bill, but again to no purpose. A dissolution, followed by a new election, showed an overwhelming majority in favour of the Tariff Bill, which, however, was for the third time thrown out by the Council, and the deadlock continued to the great discomfort of Civil Servants whose salaries were nearly three months in arrears. After more wrangling a further conference between the two Houses was agreed upon, with the result that the Tariff Bill was passed. Before the termination of the conflict the Governor was recalled on the ground of his having shown political partiality. He was succeeded by the Rt. Hon. J. H. J. Manners Sutton (afterwards Viscount Canterbury), who acted as Governor until the year 1873. The fiscal policy was now settled, and though there were no less than six changes of ministry during his term of office (nearly seven years), the political unrest does not appear to have interfered with the steady progress of the colony. A new Education Act, drafted by Mr. Wilberforce Stephen, came into force in 1873, and provided free, compulsory, and secular education of an elementary character.

During the rule of Sir George Ferguson Bowen the old quarrel between the Upper and Lower Houses broke out again; this time on the subject of payment of members. The amount was tacked on to the Appropriation Bill, which the Upper House promptly rejected. As a consequence there were no funds for paying the Public Servants, and on January 8th, 1873, known as "Black Wednesday," all heads of departments, judges of county courts and many other officials received notice of dismissal. This

revolutionary proceeding created something like a general panic, to allay which the Upper House passed two Bills—one a Payment of Members Bill, and the other an Appropriation Bill. The Assembly, however, soon after asserted its dignity by introducing a Referendum Bill, which was intended to destroy the power of the Council “as a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature.” On the rejection of this by the “Lords,” the Assembly voted money to send to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a deputation, consisting of the Premier and Professor Pearson of the Melbourne University. About the same time Governor Bowen was recalled, and his place was taken by the Marquis of Normanby.

Premier Berry and Professor Pearson had in the meantime arrived in England and laid before the Imperial authorities the constitutional difficulties in which Victoria was involved. Whilst declining to intervene, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote a despatch in which he advised the Victorian Assembly to refrain from tacking foreign matter to Bills of Supply, and gave an assurance that the Imperial Government would never alter the Constitution at the instance of one branch of the Legislature. The despatch appealed to the reasonableness of both parties and had much to do in putting an end to what was becoming a chronic state of deadlock.

CHAPTER XVI.

RECENT HISTORY.

SHORTLY after the arrival of the Marquis of Normanby, the "Kelly Gang" was captured after a desperate fight at Glenrowan Hotel. The outlaws forming the "gang" may be regarded as the last of the bushrangers and they surpassed all other Australian bushrangers in the extent of their operations. The narrative of their deeds of daring—which is not wanting in romantic interest—is too long to be given here. Beginning as common horse and cattle lifters, they gradually advanced through all the degrees of highway robbery and outrage. Having established themselves in the mountain country lying between Greta and the King River, they made sudden raids upon outlying settlers, disappearing as quickly and secretly as they came. A reward was offered for their capture, and parties of police endeavoured to track them down. One such party, consisting of four men, camped one evening on the Stringybark Creek. Whilst engaged in preparing their "billy" tea, they were suddenly surprised by the "gang." Three of the policemen were shot dead; the fourth mounting his horse dashed away, followed by several bullets, which wounded the horse so severely that it had to be left behind. The trooper contrived to make his way to Mansfield. Alarmed by this outrage the police redoubled their efforts, and drew a cordon round the mountain haunts of the bushrangers, who

had many friends among the settlers in the surrounding country. Aided thus, the bandits managed to hold out for some weeks and then succeeded in breaking through the line of police. They lost no time in getting to work. After capturing the homestead of a squatter and locking up the occupants they made a dash upon the township of Euroa. There "Ned" Kelly and Steve Hart entered the National Bank, and having made prisoners of the manager, his family and clerks, quietly pocketed £2,000 in notes and cash. The ordinary robber would have stopped there, but Ned Kelly combined freakish strategy with unparalleled daring. The bank prisoners, 14 in number, were then packed in a buggy, a spring cart, a baker's waggon and conveyed to a station "stuck up" a few hours before. There they were added to the prisoners already under lock and key, and told not to stir if they valued their lives, till seven o'clock. The desperadoes then disappeared and were not heard of for weeks.

In the meantime the Government increased the reward for their capture to £8,000 and arrested 21 persons suspected to be accomplices of the outlaws. The "gang" replied by robbing a bank at Jerilderie, in New South Wales. On the 28th June, 1879, a detachment of police proceeding in a special train to Glenrowan, narrowly escaped destruction, the "gang" having taken up the rails. The end of their singular career was, however, rapidly approaching. Having taken possession of an hotel at Glenrowan, they were surrounded by a strong party of police, who maintained a hot fire upon the building throughout the night. Ned Kelly, cased in armour, was captured in the open; Byrne was shot towards morning and the two other outlaws perished in the build-

ing which had been set on fire by the police. The leader of the "gang" was tried and hanged. His capture had cost the Government no less than £50,000.

In the meantime the old antagonisms in politics were dying out. With the fall of the third Berry Ministry, Sir Bryan O'Loghlen came to power and remained premier till 1883. So little of the old bitterness remained that Mr. James Service was then able to form a coalition Ministry, comprising able men of all parties. Two very useful pieces of legislation mark the Service Government. One was the abolition of political control in the management of the state-owned railways, and the other was the abolition of political patronage in the Public Service. Public Service Commissioners were appointed to regulate appointments and promotion upon equitable principles, "without favour or recommendations," other than merit and fitness. In 1888 the members of the Legislative Council were increased to 48 and of the Assembly to 95. In that year Victoria reached the highest point of prosperity. Of all the colonies she proved most attractive to the immigrant and to the foreign capitalist seeking profitable investment for money. A period of inflation began which, in 1893, ended in a financial crisis in which banks failed and business was paralysed. So great was the panic that the Government proclaimed five bank holidays, hoping thereby to relieve the strain. To no purpose however, as the run continued and many banks were obliged to suspend payment. The effects of this financial collapse were widespread, and Victoria is only now recovering from the shock.

In this brief survey of Victorian history during recent years, the reader may find it difficult to single

out any events or movements that suggest a definite evolution. The fact is that, setting aside the federal movement which Victoria has always received with enthusiasm, the Legislature of the colony has of late restricted itself to improving the means of internal communication, to fostering local industries, and to effecting economies in the Public Service. The smallest colony of the group, with the single exception of Tasmania, Victoria nevertheless possesses the greatest length of railway. Her activity in this direction has, indeed, been viewed with a certain amount of suspicion by New South Wales. For, by extending her railway system to various points on the Murray, she has secured a large share in the river trade of the Mother Colony; and there seems to be little doubt that in years to come still more of the Riverina traffic will be diverted towards Melbourne.

Victoria, without having the opportunities for pastoral expansion possessed by New South Wales, has the advantage of a compact territory, traversed by mountain ranges which mitigate, to some extent, the severity of those droughts, which, from time to time, afflict the greater part of Australia. Climate and in a large measure the soil are well adapted to agriculture. In 1891 more than one-third of the agricultural produce of Australia was raised in Victoria; and though there has been a falling off in recent years, she still occupies the first place in wheat-growing and wine industry.

Her mineral wealth lies chiefly in gold. It has been estimated that up to 1890 no less than £254,157,000 worth of gold had been extracted from the various gold-fields of Victoria—that is, about 60 per cent. of the total output of Australasia. It is doubtful, however, whether this is adequate compensation

for the absence of extensive coal-beds, without which it is difficult to see how the colony can ever be conspicuous in manufactures: and yet the protective policy she has pursued for years would seem to indicate a strong desire to foster manufactures. Prediction is always more or less rash; but it may be safe to hazard the opinion that the main sources of Victorian wealth will in the future be found to lie more and more in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Gold-mining, although the phenomenal returns of the early days can never again be hoped for, will still continue to furnish employment for a considerable population and return interest upon a large amount of usefully invested capital.

PART FOUR.

QUEENSLAND.

CHAPTER XVII.

BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT.

IN 1823 Surveyor-General John Oxley was sent northward in the cutter *Mermaid* to report upon Moreton Bay, Port Curtis and Port Bowen as possible sites for a new penal settlement. Sydney and its dependent penal stations were overcrowded, and an outlet was deemed necessary for "refractory and incorrigible" criminals, who, it was argued, were subject to many temptations in districts where free settlers were numerous. Oxley first of all visited Port Curtis, but finding it unsuitable for his purpose, went south and cast anchor in Moreton Bay. Immediately afterwards a crowd of natives were seen making down to the shore; among them a very tall man of lighter colour than the rest. This proved to be Thomas Pamphlet, who, with three others, had left Sydney some months previously in an open boat to bring cedar from the Five Islands (a popular name for Illawarra). Driven out of their course by a violent gale, they were finally, after suffering many privations, to which one of their number succumbed, wrecked on Moreton Island. They

had so lost their reckoning that they imagined themselves to be somewhere on the coast south of Sydney. The natives treated them with much kindness, the men hunting and fishing, and the women collecting "dingowa" or fern-root for them. But the castaways, grown weary of a life of semi-savagery, had, six weeks before the arrival of Oxley, set out northward in the hope of reaching Sydney overland. Pamphlet, after journeying fifty miles, returned footsore and weary to the friendly tribe; and his two companions were not long in following his example—Finnegan having already returned, and Parsons, the third man, finding his way back some months later.

Guided by Pamphlet, Oxley rowed in a whale-boat up the Brisbane River for a distance of fifty miles. Before returning he ascended Termination Hill, from the summit of which he obtained a fine view of the surrounding country. What he saw confirmed him in the belief then current that the Brisbane River, as well as other rivers west of the Dividing Range in New South Wales, issued from the great lake or inland sea in the centre of the continent.

His report upon Moreton Bay was so favourable, that in September, 1824, he was despatched with a squad of soldiers and thirty prisoners to make preparations for establishing the penal settlement. The site selected was on the northern shore of the bay, at a spot known as Red Cliff Point. Extensive buildings were erected, but the position was soon abandoned for a better site on the Brisbane River, where the capital of Queensland now stands. The original settlement still retains its original nickname, Humpybong, a corruption of Umpie Bong (dead houses).

Oxley was succeeded by Captain Logan, a man of resolute character, under whom the system was carried out with a rigour that made his name odious. The convict population was rapidly increased, and building and clearing operations were conducted with the utmost vigour. Massive barracks were erected for the prisoners in what is now the principal street of Brisbane. In addition to his official duties, Captain Logan found time to make experiments in agriculture and to explore the country. The ridiculous story that he sowed the prepared rice of commerce is probably an invention, since he is admitted to have had some botanical knowledge. His experiments in cotton growing were highly successful. As an explorer he discovered the Logan River and rowed up the Bremer, on the banks of which he found an outcrop of limestone as well as traces of coal. From the lime-kiln established by him on the Bremer came most of the lime used in the construction of buildings at the settlement.

Logan came to a tragic end in 1830. With a small party consisting mostly of prisoners, he had gone out on a minor exploring expedition, and was not seen again alive. His body was found pierced by a spear and battered by waddies. Although the deed was at the time commonly ascribed to the blacks, it seems not unlikely that the real perpetrators were convicts, either escapees living with the blacks or the convicts of his own party.

It was during his régime that Allan Cunningham discovered the Darling Downs. In April, 1827, he left the Segenhoe Station on the Upper Hunter, and crossing the Dividing Range travelled northward over country till then unexplored. He discovered and named the Gwyder and Dumaresq, and finally

found himself in a beautiful pastoral country separated from Moreton Bay by a range of mountains. It consisted of well-watered flats and downs of rich black soil, which even in the middle of winter were covered with abundance of good grass. Cunningham halted for some time in this pastoralists' paradise and endeavoured to find a practicable route across the mountain to the sea. In the course of his explorations he observed a "singular deeply excavated part of the range," which seemed to offer what he desired. On closer examination it proved to be blocked up by great masses of fallen rock and by a jungle of twining plants. Having noted the position of the gap Cunningham retraced his steps to the Hunter River. In the following year he set out from Moreton Bay with the intention of locating the pass. His first attempt was a failure; but a second expedition, starting from Limestone Station, came upon the Gap, which was found to be more accessible than was anticipated.

Between 1830 and 1835 the bond population was gradually reduced. Governor Bourke, like his predecessor, Sir Ralph Darling, had formed a poor opinion of the advantages offered by Moreton Bay as a penal settlement. So strongly was he impressed by this idea that in 1839 it was determined to abandon the penal establishment.

The story of convictism in Queensland is but a repetition of horrors with which the readers of *For the Term of his Natural Life* are sufficiently familiar. The prisoners may have been bad, but the harsh, despotic discipline brutalised them to the lowest degree. Floggings and other severities of daily occurrence drove men to the gallows, the sole refuge of despair. Women, young and old, were forced to

work in the fields, some of them loaded with chains. Revolting as such treatment was, it must be remembered that it was the fault of the time which could tolerate a death penalty for over two hundred offences.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EXPLORATIONS.

ABOUT the middle of the year 1840 free settlers began to arrive at Moreton Bay, the regulation restricting settlement to the district within a radius of 50 (fifty) miles of Brisbane, though not withdrawn, being allowed to become a dead letter. The history of the colony for the next twenty years is little more than a narrative of exploration and pastoral expansion.

The country lying in the vicinity of Moreton Bay had now been thoroughly examined. Among the foremost local explorers was Andrew Petrie, who had come to the settlement in 1835, in the first steam-boat to visit Moreton Bay. In one of his coastal expeditions he found two escaped convicts living with the blacks. One of them had forgotten his native language. Probably a considerable number of convicts had contrived to escape: some were, no doubt, killed and eaten, but others, like those discovered by Petrie, were hospitably treated by their savage hosts.

West of the mountains Patrick Leslie, soon to be followed by others, had squatted on the well-grassed downs discovered by Cunningham. All the settlers of this class were pioneers and explorers combined. A natural love of adventure and the need of "fresh fields and pastures new," for flocks that multiplied apace, were the incentives that urged them forward.

Patrick Leslie is a type common enough in the pioneer days of Australia; but the exigencies of such colonial history as has been written have rendered it impossible to do more than allude to men who played a most important part in the settlement of the country.

In February, 1840, Patrick Leslie, on receiving particulars from Allan Cunningham of his route to the Darling Downs, set out from McIntyre's Station, New England. His intention had been to cross the mountains into the valley of the Clarence, but unable to find a path he went north to the Darling Downs. Thoroughly satisfied with the country, he returned to Falconer's Plain, where he busied himself collecting stock, bullock teams, drays, and all the other impedimenta which made up a pioneer caravan. The hands, twenty-two in number, were all ticket-of-leave men or convicts. "As good and game a lot of men as ever existed," wrote Leslie, "who never occasioned us a moment's trouble: worth any fifty men I have ever seen since." This was the bright side of convictism. Leslie arrived at the Condamine without the loss of a "single animal, or breaking a bullock chain." This success was the signal for the migration of other squatters, who rapidly filled up the Downs with their flocks and herds. These first comers were notable men, many of them university men, full of pluck and enterprise and able to rough it with the most seasoned bushmen. The same breed may be seen at work in the uplands of Rhodesia at the present day.

The brothers Stuart and Sydenham Russell, who were closely associated with the settlement of the Darling Downs, were unflagging explorers. They traced the Condamine for a hundred miles, and in

the course of their explorations lighted upon the Cecil Plains, a splendid grazing country. Stuart Russell afterwards turned his attention to the coast. In an open boat he proceeded first to Wide Bay, and, in a subsequent journey, to the Boyne River. His *Genesis of Queensland*, despite a singularly disjointed style, is one of the best books ever written of pioneer days in Australia.

In 1842 Governor Gipps paid a visit to Moreton Bay. At that time there were numerous squattages within fifty miles of the town, and the flocks of the pastoralists had increased enormously. From the date of this visit a period of rapid progress began. The Moreton Bay district was formally declared open to free selection, and the first sale of Crown lands took place on July 7th, 1842. The squatters on the Downs, instead of having to convey stores and sheep by way of the Hunter River, found a nearer route to the sea through Cunningham's Gap, now made passable by bullock drays. All the convicts had by this time been removed, a police magistrate had been appointed, and in 1843 the settlement was represented in the Legislative Council.

About this time Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt appeared on the scene and began to organise an expedition to explore the northern portion of the continent. On the 1st October, 1844, he set out from Jimbour on the Darling Downs. Keeping well to the east, he discovered in succession the Dawson, Mackenzie, and Burdekin Rivers. From the headquarters of the latter, he crossed the watershed separating the eastern rivers from those flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria, and skirting round the gulf arrived, after a journey lasting ten months, at Port Essington.

Two events of the journey—one a tragedy and the

other a comedy—are worth recording. During their march round the gulf, the camp was suddenly attacked one evening by a party of blacks. The explorers were totally unprepared, and before their guns could be capped, a shower of spears fell in their midst, wounding Calvert and Roper, and killing Gilbert, the naturalist. A shot or two scared the blacks, and the party had then the mournful task of burying their dead comrade. Hitherto they had not been molested by the natives: a fortunate circumstance, for Leichhardt, preoccupied with his scientific pursuits, paid little attention to the discipline of his party.

On another occasion, a black fellow, apparently in a fit of abstraction, appeared in their midst as they sat round their camp fire. Quickly realising that he had made a mistake, the black "swarmed" up a tree, where he set up a howling and sobbing, which ceased only when the party moved to a distance and so gave him an opportunity to escape.

Leichhardt on his return became the hero of the hour. Verses were written in his honour, and a privately subscribed present of £200, supplemented by a Government donation of £1,000, was made to him—the latest "Prince of Explorers."

Before Leichhardt had returned, the energetic Sir Thomas Mitchell had left Buree, with a well-equipped party, intending to carry out an extensive exploration of tropical Australia. In the course of a twelvemonths' tour, he traversed much valuable country and discovered many hitherto unknown rivers—among others, the Balonne, the Culgoa, the Maranoa, the Warrego, and the Barcoo. It was on this expedition that Edmund Kennedy received his training as an explorer.

Not to be outdone by Mitchell, Leichhardt now conceived the bold project of crossing the continent from east to west. His first attempt was a ludicrous failure: for in spite of the success of his first journey, he was wanting in many of the qualities necessary to the explorer. On this expedition he took with him enough live stock—goats, sheep, bullocks, mules, and horses—to feed an army. He had not gone far, however, when a series of mishaps compelled him to return. Dissension arose among the members of the party: fever broke out: and finally most of the live stock strayed or had to be abandoned.

Nothing daunted he set out again (1848). The party, which consisted of six whites and two blacks, was, judging by current reports, very inadequately equipped. A letter written by Leichhardt on the banks of the Cogoon was received; but that was the last news of him and his party. They vanished in some of the many ways in which men can vanish in a trackless desert. Their disappearance gave rise to a whole library of surmise and to the despatch of several search parties. The surmise was useless: the search parties found no trace of Leichhardt, but added greatly to our knowledge of the interior of the continent. Some years later a convict named Garbut originated a plausible story of the finding of the lost explorer. He said that in the interior, far beyond the outposts of settlement, was a colony of felons and escaped convicts. Upon these Leichhardt had lighted and had been kept as a sort of hostage. The fabrication gained some notoriety for Garbut.

During the same year that saw Leichhardt's plunge into the unknown, Kennedy's ill-fated expedition landed at Rockingham Bay. Its object was to explore the country northwards to Cape Yorke; and

this country is so different from that which usually figures in tales of Australian exploration, that the expedition merits more than a cursory mention. Hitherto explorers had fought with drought and heat and with plains which furnished food neither for man nor beast. Kennedy's route led through dense tropical jungles, where lawyer vines and clinging trees abounded. Game was tolerably plentiful, water always within reach; yet their progress was slow and toilsome in the extreme. The energies of the party were taxed to the utmost not only by forests, but by marshes and estuaries which had to be crossed or avoided; by mountains which had to be climbed; and by fierce aboriginal tribes, men who hung like vultures on their steps. When provisions began to run short Kennedy left eight of his followers at Weymouth Bay, whilst he himself, accompanied by three white men and a black boy, pushed northward in the direction of Port Albany, where he hoped to find the schooner *Ariel* waiting for him. Ill-luck still pursued him. One of the white men fell ill, another accidentally shot himself; there was no alternative but to leave them behind in charge of the third. Kennedy and the faithful Jacky Jacky succeeded in reaching the Escape River. Albany Island was in sight, but the blacks dogged their steps through the woods, and before the goal could be reached, Kennedy fell pierced with a native spear. Jacky Jacky buried him and then made his way to Port Albany, where he found the *Ariel* at anchor. The schooner, with the black fellow on board, hastened south to Weymouth Bay to rescue Carron and Goddard—sole survivors of a party of eight—from the clutches of the blacks.

The death of Kennedy at the hands of the blacks and the attacks made by them on shepherds and trav-

ellers in more settled districts furnish a motive but scarcely an excuse for the severe treatment of the aborigines which continued in some parts of Queensland up to a comparatively recent date. The blacks there were more virile than their southern relations and were ever ready to exact a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye. Outrages by them were in many cases simply reprisals for what they regarded as similar outrages perpetrated upon them by white men. The native police established to hunt down their offending brethren revelled in the barbarous work and appear to have been guilty of many acts of an atrocious character. The settlers themselves too often regarded the aborigines as a species of vermin. "Battues" for the dispersal of tribes were usually formed, it is true, in retaliation for the killing of a shepherd or the slaughter of cattle, but little discrimination was exercised in seeking out or punishing the real offenders. Whatever the provocations may have been—and no one denies that there were serious provocations—it is difficult to palliate many of the acts of the pioneers. In the end the Queensland Government made some amends by reserving certain tracts of country for the blacks, whose ultimate extinction, however, is only a matter of a brief period.

Among other features of Queensland history between 1840 and 1859 may be mentioned the early importation of Chinese to act as shepherds. From the commencement of the settlement the squatters as a body had been in favour of convict labour, and when the supply from that source failed them, they prepared the way for that yellow invasion which, in one phase or another, will probably remain for all time a subject of much importance to Australia.

CHAPTER XIX.

SEPARATION FROM NEW SOUTH WALES.

To the casual observer there has been in the Australian colonies a marked development in the provincial spirit. No sooner was a new settlement formed than an outcry arose for separation and political independence. As early as 1851 the Moreton Bay district petitioned to be allowed to set up house-keeping on its own account, and the boon was granted in 1859. At that time the population was only about 25,000, of which Brisbane contained 7,000. The pastoral industry was the only one worthy of the name: even that was in its infancy. Agriculture was confined to a little maize growing. Roads hardly existed and shipping facilities were conspicuous by their absence.

The first Governor was Sir George Ferguson Bowen, who had been private secretary to Mr. Gladstone and had also acted as Colonial Secretary to the Ionian Islands during the British protectorate. The first Parliament met in May, 1860. The Legislative Council consisted of gentlemen appointed for five years by the Governor of New South Wales and of others nominated by the Governor of Queensland with a life tenure. The Assembly was elected on the basis of a ten-pound annual lodger's tenancy, and any person on the roll could be a member.

Mr. G. W. Herbert, afterwards Permanent Under Secretary to the Colonies, held the position of First

Minister and Colonial Secretary to the first ministry. During his administration much useful legislation was passed. A system of primary education was established and secondary education was provided for by a system of endowments of Grammar Schools. It is a noteworthy feature of Australian Governments that one of their first considerations has been the establishment of schools for the people, and each colony prides itself—with too much complacency perhaps—upon the perfection of its system.

In 1861 Acts were passed making provision for municipal government and for the transfer of real estate on the Torrens System. The great want of the colony was population and especially a supply of reasonably cheap labour. To remedy this want steps were taken to encourage immigration. To immigrants who paid the cost of their passage land orders were granted to the amount of £18 for each adult. This arrangement, unfortunately, lent itself to practices which had not been contemplated. A pernicious traffic arose in land orders which shrewd speculators purchased for a small sum from needy arrivals. The result was that only a small proportion of the immigrants established themselves on the land: the majority contrived to pick up a living in the town or swelled the ranks of the unemployed. This condition of affairs was to some extent improved by the passing of a Land Act which created a system of agricultural and settlement reserves, which were open to selection at £1 per acre. In a few years immigration had increased the population by 46,422.

Settlement in the north and west made rapid progress. The squatters were ever on the move, discovering new lands for themselves or following the tracks of explorers who had now traversed almost

the whole of the territory. The Burke and Wills expedition, followed as it was by the despatch of numerous relief parties, opened up immense tracts of good pastoral country; and soon flocks and herds were to be found as far north as the Gulf of Carpentaria. The growth of sugar and cotton, encouraged by bounties and facilities for acquiring land, became important industries. Between 1867 and 1874 ten million pounds of cotton were exported; but when the bonus system was abandoned, the industry speedily collapsed. Before 1870 a good beginning had been made with the laying of railway and telegraph lines; to carry on which large sums of money had to be borrowed. But a period of extravagant outlay on public works was followed in 1865 by a depression, which interfered seriously with the progress of the colony. The crisis was severe. Banks and building societies failed, hundreds of private insolvencies followed, and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. Among the latter a large number of navvies, who seized upon a train going to Ipswich and afterwards marched upon Brisbane. The wildest rumours were circulated as to their intentions, and large numbers of special constables were sworn in to protect the city. The navvies, consisting of 125 half-starving men, were joined, on their arrival, by the unemployed of Brisbane; but a supply of food and the commencement of relief work obviated any disturbance they may have meditated.

In the meantime the Government had taken measures to stave off financial ruin. Treasury Bills at short date and bearing ten per cent. interest were issued, and 100,000 treasury notes, of one pound each, were put in circulation. These devices served to relieve the strain and enabled the Government to

tide over the crisis. During the whole of this financial trouble, there was the greatest instability in politics. Ministry succeeded ministry with ludicrous rapidity, but in spite of this instability and depression, an upward tendency soon began to manifest itself. A new Land Act gave greater facilities for settlement, and the sugar industry was steadily growing into importance. In 1869 twenty-eight sugar-mills were at work. But by far the most hopeful sign was the discovery of great mineral wealth. At the time of the gold rushes in the early fifties Queensland, like other colonies, suffered a great loss of population, the existence of treasure nearer home being still unsuspected. The first gold discovery was made (1855) at Canoona, a station on the Fitzroy River. The alluvial deposit, however, was soon worked out, but not before reports of its richness had attracted a great fleet to Keppel Bay. A large number of the thousands who hurried to the spot were soon in the direst straits and had to be removed at the expense of the Governments of New South Wales and Victoria.

In 1867 a miner, by name James Nash, found payable gold in the Wide Bay district. The usual "rush" set in, and the finding of a nugget containing £3,000 worth of gold raised the excitement to fever heat. Many localities in the neighbourhood were found to be rich in gold. The town of Gympie, which sprang up on the field, has continued to be a valuable mining centre. It was this discovery that helped so much to avert the financial crisis referred to above. Equally rich finds, moreover, were made elsewhere. Ravenswood, the Cape River, the Gilbert, the Etheridge, Charters Towers, and Cloncurry were all found within the next few years to be aurif-

erous. Nor was gold the only mineral discovery. Tin was found at Stanthorpe, copper ore in the Burnett district, opal in northern and central Queensland, and extensive beds of coal in the Wide Bay district.

In 1872 Mr. W. Hann, at the head of a scientific party, discovered gold on the Palmer River. Further prospecting showed that the whole district was gold-bearing, and vessels bearing thousands of eager gold-hunters, were soon swarming into the estuary of the Endeavour River. Among the diggers was a horde of Chinese, whose presence gave rise to much friction with the European miners. To prevent the recurrence of similar disturbances the Government passed an Act excluding the Yellow men from all gold areas until a certain time should have elapsed after the discovery.

The most phenomenal discovery of the time was that of Mount Morgan, a veritable mountain of ore. It is situated in the Rockhampton district, not far from the scene of a former "rush." The land had originally been taken up by a selector, who, finding it unsuitable for grazing purposes, had been glad to part with it to three brothers of the name of Morgan, for the sum of £640. He had actually been making dykes of stones wheeled in a barrow from the "mountain," and had no suspicion that these same stones were studded with gold and other minerals. The new proprietors are said to have extracted as much as £20 or £30 from single cartloads of the grey rock, and this with the rudest appliances. A few years later the mine was estimated to be worth £8,000,000.

CHAPTER XX.

RECENT HISTORY.

ALTHOUGH the events of the last twenty-five years are too near to be viewed in their right proportions and true perspective, it is nevertheless possible to point to certain definite tendencies in the recent politics and industrial developments of Queensland. Amid the mass of trivial details chronicled from day to day, one may distinguish here and there facts that have more than a passing interest and significance. If we set aside for a moment the coming and going of Governors, the ups and downs of party politics, and the alternation of droughts and floods, we shall find that much of what is really important in the history of Queensland in the last quarter of the century belongs equally to the history of Australia as a whole. Even the vexed question of Polynesian labour, which at first sight seems purely local, is but part of a larger problem, in the solution of which all the colonies are interested.

Whilst the Government of Queensland, therefore, in common with the governments of the other colonies, devotes most of its attention to domestic and economic matters, it has been drawn by force of circumstances to take an interest in those broader questions which affect the destiny of the whole Continent. Of these Federation and the Pacific Question are the most important. The activity of France and Germany among the islands was a rude awaken-

ing to those who fancied the isolation of Australia rendered it secure from international troubles. It was suddenly realised that something must be done to extend and maintain British influence, and this could be done only by the united action of all the colonies.

The Pacific Question stimulated more than anything else the already growing interest in Federation. The history of the Federal movement is treated at length in another chapter, but it may be well to resume briefly the part that Queensland played in the movement. When the Conference of 1880 was adjourned from Melbourne to Sydney, it was joined by representatives from all the self-governing colonies, Queensland among the rest. Several matters of moment were discussed, but it was not till 1883, when public opinion was excited by French claims in regard to the New Hebrides, that a Federal Council was legally constituted, with power to take common action. Delegates from the northern colony also attended the 1891 Convention, and the sudden death of one of them, the Hon. J. M. Macrossan, cast a gloom over the whole proceedings. A Federal Bill was drafted and then referred to the various colonies, but as one critic has said, it proved to be, for the time being at any rate, "too wise to secure popular enthusiasm." No strong current of public feeling was created and the measure was shelved for a more convenient season. In 1896 the apparent indifference of Queensland was shown by the rejection in the local Parliament of the Federal Enabling Bill, owing to the disagreement of the two Houses on the question of Amendment. For this reason Queensland was unrepresented in the next meeting of the Convention. However, the growing enthusiasm of

the other colonies extended northward, and a referendum held on September 2nd, 1899, disclosed the fact that a majority of the people of Queensland were in favour of the Amended Bill. This bill was laid before the Imperial Parliament.

It may appear singular that on the very eve of Federation there should still have existed in Northern Queensland a desire for separation. The two things, however, are not really incompatible. The cry for separation was not much more than a demand for local self-government. Just as Melbourne had objected to being governed by Sydney, so Central and Northern Queensland objected to being ruled from so remote a centre as Brisbane. For a long time the centralisation of power and influence in the southern corner of the colony had rankled in the minds of the people of the north. Townsville, where a Separation Convention had been held in 1884, was the centre of the agitation. In the following year a committee was formed in London to promote the aims of the Separation League. Five years later Sir S. W. Griffith, the then Premier, went so far as to propose the division of the colony into three semi-independent States. The question, however, was to be settled with Federation.

It was about the year 1880 that Australia began to perceive the importance of her interests in the Pacific. North and east lay belts and clusters of islands, which foreign nations were regarding with longing eyes, partly for purposes of commerce, and partly for the sake of obtaining convenient strategic positions. France, Germany, and the United States, especially the two former, had recently awakened to the necessity for a stronger colonial policy. Already France had penal settlements in New Caledonia, to

which she sent large numbers of *recidivists* or relapsed criminals, and Germany was suspected of entertaining designs on New Guinea and the adjacent islands. The proximity to her shores of foreign and possibly hostile nations was a subject that deeply concerned the whole of Australia, but Queensland was naturally the first of the colonies to realise the magnitude of the danger.

From the commencement of the seventeenth century the Dutch had been frequent visitors to New Guinea, but they had formed no permanent settlements. British ships had surveyed the coast, but no definite steps were taken until 1873-4, when Fiji was ceded to the Crown. In the former year Captain Moresby, in H.M.S. *Basilisk*, had hoisted the Union Jack in New Guinea, and read a proclamation taking possession of the island in the name of the Queen. A year later Sir Henry Parkes, at that time Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, urged upon Governor Robinson the advisability of making an effort to colonise New Guinea, and about the same time an expedition was fitted out by the Hon. William Macleay to explore the south-west of the island. Representations on the subject were also made to Lord Carnarvon, who, however, declined to commit himself to any decided action. In the refusal he was to some extent justified by the want of unanimity among the colonies themselves; but it should be remembered that at this period, the Imperial Government, dominated by what is called the Little England Spirit, had steadily set its face against the annexation of new territory.

During the visit of Captain Moresby, the blacksmith of the *Basilisk* reported the discovery of gold a few miles inland. The report, which proved to be

well-grounded, exercised the usual attraction on roving gold-seekers. Before 1880 parts of New Guinea and certain of the adjacent islands were occupied by a motley crowd of diggers and traders who formed a sort of Alsatia on the outskirts of Queensland. To keep law and order among these people Sir Arthur Gordon, High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, appointed, at the request of the Queensland Government, a resident magistrate at Thursday Island, and a warship was stationed at Port Moresby. Annexation was, however, still postponed. At length the colony grew tired of waiting, and Mr. McIlwraith, the Colonial Treasurer, instructed Mr. Chester, police magistrate at Thursday Island, to proclaim the annexation to Queensland of that part of New Guinea unclaimed by the Dutch. This proceeding was not approved by the Imperial Authorities and the annexation was repudiated. In 1884, however, Lord Derby proclaimed a protectorate over a part of New Guinea, and Germany, thereupon, seized the remainder. In 1886 the British Government gave way to the pressure of public opinion in the colonies, and a treaty was signed by virtue of which the southern portion of the island became English, the northern portion German, and the western portion Dutch. Dr. McGregor, the first administrator of the British section, arrived in 1888.

Queensland was interested in the islands and islanders from other and, as many think, less creditable reasons. The expansion of the sugar industry created a demand for cheap labour, and to supply this demand Robert Towns had brought to the colony, on his own responsibility, a shipload of Kanakas. Other planters followed his example, and the traffic in Polynesian labour grew so great that the

Government took the matter up; but, owing to the strong political interest of the sugar industry, it was unable to do more than regulate the traffic. The early "blackbirding" cruises gave rise to scandals which did much to discredit a system, which the white workmen of the colony have always opposed with extreme bitterness. The question is one upon which the public is still much divided. The white workers, for obvious reasons, do not relish the competition of cheap alien labour; and the planters contend that, but for this cheap labour, industries like the growing of sugar-cane would be impossible.

These interests, doubtless great in themselves, are but details in the great problem of the effect of the presence of inferior races upon national life.

Chinese immigration excited even more hostility; and for this reason, that the Yellow man, being much higher in the scale of civilisation than the Kanaka, is able to compete with the white man in almost every department of industry. In 1877 it was estimated that about 19,000 Chinese were distributed throughout the colony. It is evident that the influx of Chinese forms a much more serious problem than the employment of Kanakas upon sugar plantations. Existing legislation restricts the immigration to one Chinese per 500 tons of the burden of the vessel carrying them.

The year 1890 furnished a crisis in the industrial history of Australasia. First of all occurred the Maritime Strike which began in Sydney and rapidly extended to the other colonies. This was followed in all the colonies by a general strike of shearers. Conferences of employers and pastoralists were held and a settlement was arrived at; but the discontent with existing labour conditions was widespread and

deeply-rooted. It took shape in the "New Australia" movement. Several hundred enthusiasts set sail for Paraguay, where they had obtained land for a settlement; but their experiment in socialism has proved a failure. Whilst this crusade was being carried out, violence was resorted to by some of the more reckless spirits in Queensland and elsewhere. The organisation of labour and the formation of independent labour parties in the various Parliaments of the Australian group have been among the results of this agitation.

In spite of many troubles, the progress of the colony continues to be rapid. The population has increased by leaps and bounds. In 1860 it was 28,000; in 1870, it was 115,000; and ten years later it had increased to 213,000. The estimated population of 1899 is about half a million, and there is no doubt that these figures will be greatly increased in the near future, for the resources of the colony may fairly be described as almost boundless, as Queensland is destined to be amongst the greatest of all the colonies of Great Britain.

PART FIVE.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER XXI.

FOUNDATION OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA was the outcome of a theory. The scheme for its settlement originated in the fertile brain of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who, from residence in New South Wales and association with men like Lord Durham and Charles Buller, had amassed a considerable fund of knowledge concerning English methods of colonisation. Two methods were in vogue—colonisation by convict settlement and colonisation of the happy-go-lucky order which let things drift and only succeeded, after many failures, by dint of a certain bull-dog tenacity characteristic of the race. In his “Letter from Sydney,” Wakefield denounced these methods, and propounded a new scheme which was to avoid the errors of the past. In New South Wales, he pointed out, there were no social gradations; no leisured class; no opportunity for culture. Land was too easily procurable: with the result that the labourer was soon transformed into the landowner, and so became the rival and, from a material point of view, the equal of his master. This state of affairs was repugnant to Wakefield’s sense of decency and old-world harmony. He

was disconcerted by the crude conditions that prevailed in the colony, and he did not approve and did not really understand the bewildering transformations which are inevitable in new countries. His scheme was intended to alter all that and to "substitute systematic colonisation for mere emigration." He wished, in fact, to transplant a complete section of English society, with all its old-established social distinctions. By no means a visionary, he was nevertheless too feudal and too exclusive for the rough practical work of colonisation. His contention that colonies are but extensions of the Mother Country is, however, full of suggestiveness and bids fair to be realised in an all-embracing yet elastic Imperialism undreamt of by Wakefield and his contemporaries.

He was not content with generalities. He descended to minute and apparently practical details. The prime causes of the evils he regretted in New South Wales were convictism and cheapness of land. He contended, therefore, that transportation should cease and that a high price should be put on land, so that only persons of means should be able to become landowners. A portion of the proceeds arising from the sale of land should be devoted to immigration and especially to procuring a supply of labour. His experience had shown him that, whilst in the Mother Country there was a surplus, in new settlements there was always a dearth of cheap labour. The supply, however, must be carefully regulated.

The scheme attracted much attention and appealed to powerful interests. Its author and his friends used the press to the best advantage. Articles appeared in all the leading journals, and pamphlets were sown broadcast. About that time news came of Sturt's journey down the Murray to Lake Alex-

andrina. Kangaroo Island had, moreover, for some time past, been the resort of sealers. The attention of the schemers, therefore, was naturally drawn to South Australia.

In 1831 a South Australian Land Company was formed. It included many well-known persons, but its negotiations for a charter were fruitless. It asked too much—nothing less than sovereign control over all the country between New South Wales and Western Australia. The movement was not crushed, however. In 1834 the South Australian Association was formed and under its auspices negotiations were reopened with the Government. Backed by influential support, the Association succeeded in pushing through Parliament a Bill for the colonisation of South Australia.

The Act was a comprehensive measure and embodied most of the essential principles of Wakefield's scheme. It provided for the appointment of three or more Commissioners who were to be responsible for emigration and the disposal of lands. One of these was to reside in the colony and to act under the Crown, as Commissioner of Public Lands. Nominally a Crown officer, he was nevertheless to receive his instructions from the Commissioners in London. The administration of public affairs was to be in the hands of a governor, appointed by the Crown. The powers of these various functionaries were ill-defined, a circumstance that led to much trouble in the future. Two important provisions of the Act stipulated (1) that English felons should at no time and under no circumstances be transported to the colony, and (2) that a constitution should be granted so soon as the population numbered 50,000.

The regulations concerning the disposal of land

were the most remarkable features of the Act. The minimum price of land was fixed at twelve shillings per acre, but the Commissioners were allowed to increase the minimum price at their discretion. The price at any given period, however, was to be uniform. The proceeds of such sales were to be devoted to aiding the emigration of suitable persons, of both sexes, under thirty years of age.

To ensure the good faith of the Association, it was decided that the Act should be in abeyance until a security of £20,000 had been deposited in the Treasury by the Commissioners and, further, until land had been purchased to the value of £35,000. These conditions having been complied with, arrangements were soon completed for carrying out the scheme. Colonel Torrens was appointed chairman of the Commissioners in England, and Mr. Fisher resident Commissioner in the colony; Captain Hindmarsh, a naval officer, was selected to fill the position of Governor, whilst Colonel Light was appointed Surveyor-General. This was in 1836.

Kangaroo Island, already the home of a few sealers, was selected as the site of settlement, and on July 27th, 1836, the *Duke of York*, with the first batch of immigrants, arrived in Nepean Bay. Colonel Light, who followed shortly afterwards, considered Kangaroo Island unsuitable. After making an extensive examination of the coast of the mainland, he, at length, fixed upon a spot on the Torrens River, about seven miles from Holdfast Bay; and contrary to the wishes of many of the immigrants the settlement was removed thither. Nine other vessels arrived during the year, and on December 28th Governor Hindmarsh arrived in the *Buffalo*. He read his commission to the assembled settlers and the founding of

the colony was celebrated with much rejoicing and junketing.

Formal ceremonies over, the colonists had ample leisure to consider the situation. It was soon discovered that all the elements of a nice family squabble were present. The powers of Governor, Commissioner, and Surveyor-General enabled each of them to claim supremacy. Mr. Fisher, believing that his authority was independent of the Governor, soon began to act the sullen Achilles. Then the Governor quarrelled with Colonel Light on the subject of the site chosen for the settlement. Nor were these the only troubles that afflicted the exponents of "Systematic emigration." The carrying out of the surveys was necessarily a slow process, and new arrivals were obliged to camp anywhere. Under those circumstances there was little to do except to enter lustily into the family quarrel. At length in March, 1837, the first land sales were held. Town lots realised from £3 to £13; but few cared to take up land at any distance from the camp. Disregarding Wakefield's warnings, the capitalists began to traffic in allotments—land speculation was indeed the chief industry—and, worst of all, the labourers, imported as necessary adjuncts of the landowner, did as little work as they could, and demanded what were considered exorbitant wages. The settlement lived almost entirely on its capital, and nobody seemed in a hurry to found productive industries. But for the "overlanders" who brought sheep and cattle from New South Wales, starvation would have stared the colonists in the face.

Hindmarsh so embroiled himself with the other officials, that his recall was rendered necessary. He was succeeded in 1838 by Colonel Gawler. The new

Governor found "scarcely any settlers in the country; no tillage; very little sheep and cattle pasturing; the two landing places of the most indifferent description; the population shut up in Adelaide, existing principally upon the unhealthy and uncertain profits of land-jobbing." The township was a collection of huts, mostly of stone. Even the Governor's dwelling was "of mud put between laths," with a thatch roof. The architect had forgotten a fireplace, to remedy which defect a chimney was built outside near the front-door. All kinds of food were exceedingly dear. The only trade was in whalebone and oil: of pastoral and agricultural products there were none. The population was 3,680, and as little or no business was being carried on, it is easy to imagine the confusion and distress that prevailed. Gawler began with the determination to put things straight; but his discretion and his power were not equal to his resolution. "From the moment of his arrival," it has been said, "he gave the impression that he intended to go ahead. A cavalcade of horsemen went to meet and welcome him on the road between the landing-place and the city, but he shot past it at a hand-gallop on a blood horse he had borrowed. This little incident illustrates, in every particular, his entire career. He was firm in his saddle, he cared little for anybody, he travelled fast, and he borrowed freely."

The Treasury was empty, the expenditure being out of all proportion to the revenue, and crowds of labourers who were to have formed the "bold peasantry" of the schemers were starving. Gawler did his best to induce the settlers to take up country holdings and begin the cultivation of the soil. He also incurred heavy expenditure in providing em-

ployment for labourers. Things went merrily for a time. But retribution soon came. Gawler's bills upon the Home Government were dishonoured, and at the end of three years (1839-40-41) a deficit of £281,842 was piled up. The immediate effect of the repudiation of the bills was a "slump" in land speculation. Everybody was eager to sell out, and many who still had a little capital left were glad to seek homes in the other colonies. In the end, tribulation was good, for it taught the colonists a much-needed lesson in energy and self-reliance. Go-ahead overlanders settled among them, and, just when the prospect seemed blackest, it was discovered that the country was excellent for wheat-growing. Sheep-farming, too, was becoming a promising industry.

But the muddle into which the finances of the colony had fallen aroused the serious attention of the Imperial authorities. Wiseacres abused now the Governor and now the Wakefield system. The net result of their criticism was Gawler's unceremonious recall and the appointment of Captain Grey in his place. Gawler, it should be said, departed not only damaged in reputation but ruined in pocket, for he had squandered most of his own fortune in trying to avert the utter bankruptcy of the colony. He had given considerable attention to exploration. It was during his *régime* that Edward John Eyre, after making fruitless attempts to penetrate to the centre of the continent, accomplished the feat of travelling overland to Albany in Western Australia. His route was round the Great Australian Bight. He and his party suffered all the evils that could fall to the lot of the explorer. Burning sand and rock, arid desert, weary stretches of waterless country, a pest of flies, and last of all the treachery of black follow-

ers ending in the murder of Eyre's sole white companion, and the subsequent flight of the murderers with most of the provisions. Such were some of the features of Eyre's memorable journey.

With the advent of Grey a new period in South Australian history begins. The original scheme was overhauled and remodelled. The Commissioners were dispensed with and the Secretary of State was now entrusted with the government of the colony. Grey's orders were to carry out drastic retrenchment; and, to help him out of the financial trouble, the Imperial Government granted the colony a loan of £155,000, which was afterwards "converted into a free gift." Further loans were granted to cover Gawler's bills as well as to meet the bills Grey found it necessary to draw to provide for pauper immigrants who continued to arrive. Grey had a difficult and a very unpopular part to play: he played it with resolution and was regarded by many as belonging to the worst type of Downing Street tyrant. In a sense he was quite autocratic. His sole superior was the Secretary of State: in the colony itself there was no power to control or revise his actions. It can hardly be denied, however, that his despotism was on the whole salutary. It aimed at two things chiefly: (1) the termination of expensive relief works, and (2) the dispersal of the labouring population among the pastoralists and farmers, who needed them badly. He succeeded in cutting down the expenditure by nearly two-thirds, though not without a struggle, which for a long time embittered his relations with the people. The fact that many so-called landowners were ready to sell out at almost any price, enabled a better class of settlers to take up land in the country. By this means a portion

of the indigent population that hung round the township were provided for. Others, goaded by the lash of necessity, were induced to proffer their services to squatters and farmers. When Grey arrived more than half the people lived in Adelaide, when he left two-thirds of them lived in the country.

The beneficent results of his high-handed proceedings were not long in showing themselves. Although low prices prevailed for staple commodities, there was a marked advance in agriculture and in pastoral pursuits; and this upward tendency was hastened by the opportune discovery of rich copper mines at Kapunda and Burra-Burra. When the mine at Burra-Burra ceased working in 1877, ore to the value of five million sterling had been extracted. These discoveries, followed as they were by the inflow of capital, stimulated enterprise, provided for many of the unemployed, and in general proved the salvation of the colony. The Home authorities had lost all confidence in its future, and had instructed Grey to make arrangements to transport labourers employed on Government relief works to Sydney. Grey quietly ignored these instructions, to carry out which would have involved a heavy expenditure. He pointed out the objections to the proposal and the discovery of mineral wealth more than justified his disobedience. When he retired from office in 1845 the population was 21,759, and the revenue, though still below the expenditure, was increasing in a satisfactory manner.

During the time of Gawler and Grey the settlers experienced some difficulty with the blacks who committed various murders and robbed squatters and overlanders of sheep and cattle. The settlers organ-

ised punitive expeditions, but Grey, who everywhere endeavoured to treat native races with humanity and forbearance, discountenanced the levying of war upon the blacks. Eyre, the explorer, was appointed protector of the aborigines, and from that time outrages were of rare occurrence.

Exploration was actively prosecuted. The Surveyor-General, Captain Frome, examined the country around Torrens and made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the centre of the continent. In 1844 Sturt set out with the same intention. Good pastoral country was found, but the expedition, after encountering the Central Australian Desert in its worst moods, was obliged to turn back without having accomplished its object.

The next Governor, Colonel Robe, had a brief and troubrous reign. He was a soldier; manly, but not overburdened with tact or ability of the kind required in a Governor. Of all Australian rulers he was probably the most silent. His one public speech—in reply to a deputation—consisted of the words—"I have no remarks to make, gentlemen." Had he refrained in other matters his reputation would be unique. He imposed an unpopular royalty on minerals, and excited much hostility by devoting public funds to the support of religion. Thereupon even the nominee Council deserted him, leaving him the sole target for angry remonstrance and abuse. Under these circumstances the Home Government recalled him. His mistakes did not affect the progress of the colony, which made rapid advances, especially in wheat-growing. Questions of government, it may be worth while to observe, although fiercely debated, have on the whole exercised but a small influence on the real development of the col-

onies. Parliaments debate and wrangle, but business goes on independently, in the lines of least resistance. Party questions are regarded as external things in which everybody is interested, indeed, but interested somewhat in the same way as in a game of cricket or football.

Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, who arrived in 1848 was the first civilian Governor to be sent to South Australia. With a population of nearly 40,000, and a revenue that increased in three years from £32,433 to £82,411, the colony was no longer in the swaddling stage; indeed it was already clamouring for a popular government. At any rate, Downing Street thought that the day of the purely military administrator was over. Young busied himself with schemes for the opening up of the country. One of these schemes was the attempt to open the Murray for navigation and to remove the bar at its mouth. A reward of £4,000 was offered to the first person who should take an iron steamer up the Murray to its junction with the Darling. This feat was accomplished by a Mr. Cadell, but the reward was by no means equal to his outlay. The effort to clear away the bar was a signal failure. The Lower Murray, in fact, has never been of much value as a commercial highway. The establishment of an effective road system and of district councils for local government purposes gives Governor Young a better claim to grateful memory.

On the discovery of gold in the eastern colonies, South Australia suffered a temporary withdrawal of population, chiefly of the labouring class. For a time all industries were stagnant. But the establishment of an escort route between Bendigo and Adelaide diverted to South Australia some of the

wealth of the Victorian gold-fields. Enterprising squatters and others, moreover, soon realised that money was to be made by catering for the wants of the mining population.

CHAPTER XXII.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

THE year 1851 marks the end of the old system of government, consisting of an administrator and a nominee council. A legislature of one chamber, composed of 16 elected and 8 nominee members was now created. To this Legislative Council, as it was termed, was given the control of "all expenditure chargeable to the general revenue." The Governor still retained control over the revenue arising from the sale or lease of public lands.

In 1853 the population of the colony had reached 79,000, and by the Act under which it was founded, a Constitution was promised as soon as the inhabitants should number 50,000. The new Legislative Council now occupied itself in drafting a Constitution. The Bill provided for a nominee Upper House, members of which were to hold office for life, and for a Lower House to be elected every three years on a low suffrage. The chambers were to possess equal authority except on the question of Money Bills, which could originate only in the Assembly. Public opinion, however, was so strongly opposed to the nominee principle that the original Bill was set aside. It was not till October, during the Governorship of Sir Richard MacDonnell, that the revised bill returned to the colony with the Royal assent. The Constitution Act provided a Legislative Council and an Assembly. Both of these

were elective. The members of the Upper House were to be elected by the whole colony, voting as one constituency. The Council was not subject to dissolution, but one-third of its members were to retire every fourth year. The qualifications of electors for the Council were a £50 freehold; or a lease having three years to run; or a right of purchase of the annual value of £20; or tenancy of a house having an annual value of £25. Every male adult, twenty-one years of age, who had resided six months in the colony, had a right to vote in the election of members for the Assembly. Parliaments were triennial, but could be dissolved by the Governor.

As in other colonies, some difficulties were experienced at the outset of responsible government. The first ministries were more or less makeshifts: the first collapsed in less than four months, the second lasted nine days, and the third twenty-nine days. But after that something like stability prevailed. The fourth Parliament passed a measure which has proved a boon wherever it has been adopted. This was the Torrens Act, framed by Mr. R. R. Torrens. By means of it the transfer of real property was simplified to a remarkable extent. Instead of a complicated series of legal documents, one for each change of ownership, the Torrens Act devised a simple method of registration and endorsement, by which every change of ownership was shown upon the original title deed.

With the establishment of responsible government South Australia commenced many useful public works. The railway line connecting Adelaide with its port was completed. Another line was formed from the capital to Gawler and thence to Kapunda. The first telegraph line was laid between Adelaide

and the Port, and within a few years telegraphic communication was established with Melbourne. The mystery of the interior was soon to be cleared up. Expeditions under Babbage and Warburton were unsuccessful in their primary object—the discovery of gold—but brought back valuable information. None of these, however, had reached the centre of the continent. That feat was reserved for McDouall Stuart, who had been draughtsman with Sturt's famous Central Australian Expedition. Two attempts were unsuccessful so far as his main object—crossing the continent—was concerned; but he succeeded in reaching a point some distance north of Central Mount Stuart. On New Year's Day, 1861, he set out again and raced Burke and Wills for the Gulf of Carpentaria. On July 24th, 1862, the sea was sighted. "The beach," says Stuart's diary, "was covered with soft blue mud. It being ebb-tide, I could see for some distance, and found it would be impossible to take the horses along it. I therefore kept them where I had halted them, and allowed half the party to come on to the beach and gratify themselves with a sight of the sea, while the other half remained to watch the horses until their return. I dipped my feet and washed my face and hands in the sea, as I had promised the late Governor, Sir Richard MacDonnell, I would do if I reached it."

Stuart was rewarded by the grant of 1,000 square miles of grazing country and £3,000 in cash; but the privations he had undergone had undermined his strength, and he did not live long to enjoy the honours that a grateful colony heaped upon him.

At the termination of MacDonnell's period of office the population was 126,830. The revenue was considerably over half a million; the area of land under

cultivation had trebled in the last ten years; the number of sheep had doubled; and the exports in 1862 were valued at £2,145,796.

Sir Dominick Daly, who succeeded MacDonnell, ruled the colony from 1862 until his death in 1868. The year after his arrival the Northern Territory was included in the province of South Australia, and steps were taken to form a settlement on the north coast. Escape Cliffs in Adam Bay was selected as the scene of operations, and a number of emigrants went thither by sea from Adelaide. The settlers were not impressed with the locality, and exercised to the full the British privilege of grumbling and quarrelling among themselves. The Government then despatched J. McKinlay, the explorer, to report on the situation generally, and especially to find a more suitable site for the settlement. He conducted an expedition to the East Alligator River; but there he was caught in a sudden flood, from which he escaped with difficulty in a punt covered with the hides of the horses he had with him. The smell of the hides attracted a disagreeable retinue of sharks and alligators. McKinlay's mission did not help the infant colony out of its difficulties. Finally, on the recommendation of Mr. Goyder, the Surveyor-General, it was removed to Port Darwin. Here was founded the township of Palmerston, which the transcontinental telegraph line and the discovery of gold in the Northern Territory have made a place of permanent importance.

For some time past the system in vogue for disposing of the waste lands of the colony had been productive of serious evils. It had encouraged a class of speculators, who attended the land sales and bought up as much as they could in the hope of ob-

taining speculative prices from persons genuinely desirous of settling on the land. To some extent these abuses were remedied by Strangway's Act, by virtue of which land could be sold on credit, the full amount being payable in four years. This system, which limited selection to 640 acres, was a great improvement, although the residential provisions were liable to be evaded.

Daly was succeeded by Sir James Fergusson, a man experienced in affairs and parliamentary government. His *régime* is marked by the initiation of a vigorous public works policy, and especially by the construction of the transcontinental telegraph line which connected Adelaide with Port Darwin. This work, rendered difficult by the immense distance, nearly two thousand miles, over which material had to be transported, and by the absence of timber along the route, was completed in two years.

In the last twenty-five years of South Australian history there has been little that is striking or picturesque. For the most part it is but the record of an industrial development, which has been marked by none of those extraordinary circumstances which characterise the progress of the eastern colonies. No sensational gold discoveries have been made, and though the colony possesses valuable copper mines, her assets consist chiefly in wheat, in vineyards, in flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. A rapidly increasing area is devoted to the growth of vines, South Australia ranking next to Victoria in the production of wine. The wheat industry, though it has fallen off in late years, is very important. Climate and soil combine to produce a fine quality of grain, well known in the European markets.

The bold public works policy initiated by Sir

James Fergusson was continued by succeeding administrations. Mr. James Penn Boucaut, a lawyer and politician of conspicuous ability, who became premier in 1874, proposed to raise a loan of £3,000,000, with a view to developing the resources of the colony more thoroughly. To meet the interest on this sum he proposed to levy stamp, probate and succession duties; but this proposal did not commend itself to both Houses, and the Boucaut ministry retired in favour of a cabinet at the head of which was the Hon. John Colton. The latter, by abandoning the taxation proposals for a time, was able to raise a loan of three millions and to begin the policy projected by his predecessor. Many new railways were constructed, and the overland telegraph line to Western Australia was, in 1877, extended as far as Eucla, near the head of the Bight. Shortly after the arrival of Sir William Jervois at the end of that year, it had reached Perth. The following year the first sod of the transcontinental railway from Port Augusta to Port Denison was laid. At present it has reached Oodnadatta, 737 miles from Adelaide. In the same year was laid the foundation of the Adelaide University.

The period of active expansion was followed by a financial crisis. It was due partly to wild speculation in land, and partly to low prices of staple products, the failure of harvests owing to drought, and the closing of some of the mines. The depression was not of long duration, however. A copious rainfall and valuable mineral discoveries were the principal agents in restoring confidence and prosperity.

Several South Australian Governors have interested themselves in the exploration of the interior. To the Earl of Kintore, however, belongs the honour

of being the first of them to cross the continent. In 1881 he took ship to Port Darwin, and returned to Adelaide overland along the telegraph route. In 1886 died Sir Thomas Elder, than whom Australia has had no greater benefactor. He introduced the breeding of camels into the colony, fitted out several expeditions at his own expense, founded a conservatorium of music at Adelaide, and at his death left a large sum to be divided among various public institutions.

Although the Government of South Australia has principally concerned itself with the development of the resources of the country, it has nevertheless taken a sympathetic interest in Federation. It has also, in imitation of New Zealand, indulged in certain novel experiments in legislation. In 1896 the State Advances Bill was passed and a state bank was shortly afterwards established. Another innovation was put into force in the same year. This was the granting of the franchise to women. At the general election in April, 1896, sixty per cent. of the women enrolled took advantage of their right to vote. The results in no way bore out the predictions of the opponents of the measure.

These two measures, the State Advances Bill and the Adult Suffrage Bill, are typical of two tendencies which may be traced in the politics of all the Australasian colonies: a tendency to enlarge the functions of the State and an equally strong tendency to make government more and more democratic. It is still too early to speculate as to the ultimate effect of these tendencies.

PART SIX.

TASMANIA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

TASMANIA was discovered by the celebrated Dutch navigator, Abel Jan Tasman, in the year 1642, and was named by him Van Diemen's Land in honour of Anthony Van Diemen, Governor of the Dutch East Indies, by whose orders he had undertaken his voyage of discovery into the southern seas. The name given to the country by its discoverer was borne by it until the year 1853, when it was changed to Tasmania in memory of its discoverer. For one hundred and thirty years after its discovery the island was unvisited by Europeans. In 1772 two French vessels—*Mascarin* and *Marquis de Castres*, commanded by Captain Marion du Fresne—entered Storm Bay, the very harbour which had sheltered Tasman in 1642. Next year Captain Furneaux, commanding the *Adventure*, one of the vessels of Captain Cook's expedition for the prosecution of discoveries in high southern latitudes, entered the same bay, having been separated from the *Resolution*, which Captain Cook commanded. In 1777 Captain Cook himself, on his last voyage, and commanding the *Discovery*, visited Storm Bay and remained there

some few days, being very well received by the natives. In 1788 Lieutenant William Bligh, on his way to Otaheite, visited Adventure Bay, the inlet of Bruni Island, named after Furneaux's ship. He planted some fruit trees, maize and vegetables, and left an inscription stating when and by whom this was done. The trees were in a flourishing condition in 1792, when D'Entrecasteaux visited the bay. In 1789 Captain J. H. Cox, in the brig *Mercury*, sighted the south-east coast and discovered Oyster Bay. In April, 1792, Admiral Bruni D'Entrecasteaux and Captain Huon de Kermadec, in charge of the expedition in search of the ill-fated *La Perouse*, entered Storm Bay, and remained there for nearly one month exploring and surveying the embouchures of the Huon and Derwent Rivers, Bruni Island, Port Esperance and other inlets. Admiral D'Entrecasteaux returned in January of the following year in order to complete the surveys he had begun. This expedition carried with it a number of scientific men, and a thorough examination of the country was made; indeed, all subsequent voyagers to this part of Van Diemen's Land were greatly indebted to the French navigators for the thoroughness of their work. Two years later Captain Hayes, in the *Duke and Duchess*, entered the Derwent and gave it the name it bears, superseding the appellation Riviere du Nord conferred upon it by D'Entrecasteaux. For many years after its discovery Tasmania was considered to be part of the Australian Continent, and it was not until 1798 that its insularity was established. In that year Captain Hibbs, commanding the *Norfolk*, having on board Lieutenant Flinders and Surgeon Bass, of H.M.S. *Reliance*, sailed through the straits which now bear Bass' name, and

thus proved Tasmania to be an island. In 1802 a scientific expedition, fitted out by the French Government, and consisting of the ships *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*, with the corvette *Casuarina*, under the command of Commodore Baudin, explored the southern and eastern shores of the island. The great attention paid by the French to the new-found lands of the southern seas caused great disturbance in the minds of the authorities both in Sydney and in London, and it was determined that Van Diemen's Land should be found occupied, should the French attempt to establish a colony on the shores of the inlets they had been surveying so diligently. Accordingly, in the year 1803, "in order to establish His Majesty's right to the island," Lieutenant Bowen was sent to form a settlement on the Derwent; with him were a small party of soldiers and some convicts. The spot selected for a settlement—Risdon—was on the left bank of the Derwent, about eight miles above the present site of Hobart. Some time previously Governor King, of Sydney, had despatched Colonel David Collins to establish a post at Port Phillip, mainly for the purpose of protecting the seal fisheries and forestalling the French. When Collins found his position at Port Phillip untenable, he was in doubt as to whether he would remove his party to Port Dalrymple, on the opposite shore of the strait, or to the Derwent. There were many reasons to be urged in favour of the northern port as the principal place of settlement for the new colony; one having great weight was the protection it would afford to the British sealers in Bass' Straits, who feared the interference of American whalers and sealers, whose enterprise had carried them so far south. Lieutenant-Governor Collins caused Port Dalrymple to be exam-

ined, but, in spite of the favourable report of his subordinates, decided, with the concurrence of his superior at Sydney, to remove to the southern part of the island. Collins accordingly removed his people to the Derwent, and with admirable judgment selected Sullivan's Cove as the site of his settlement. This was on the opposite shore to Risdon and on the spot where Hobart now stands. The two settlements of Collins and Bowen continued for some time independent of one another, until orders were received from Sydney for their amalgamation. Governor King, if left to himself, would have been content with the establishment at Hobart as sufficient protection against the French, but the British Government was greatly alarmed at the despatches it had received from Australia, urging the occupation of various points in the straits and on Van Diemen's Land, to prevent the intrusion of the French, with whom they were at war. The London authorities therefore ordered the occupation of Port Dalrymple, and the transference of part of the establishment then at Norfolk Island, with a proportion of the settlers and convicts to that place. Accordingly, Governor King despatched to Port Dalrymple Colonel Paterson as Lieutenant-Governor, and with him a small establishment of convicts and soldiers from Sydney, to which were subsequently added various detachments of convicts and others. There were, therefore, in 1804, two settlements in Van Diemen's Land at opposite ends of the island, and a question of jurisdiction immediately arose between the two Lieutenant-Governors. Colonel Collins claimed that his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor extended to the whole of Van Diemen's Land, and that, therefore, the northern settlement was within his juris-

diction. This claim Paterson wholly repudiated, and in this he was upheld by Governor King, who issued a general order dividing the island into two independent governments, to be known respectively as the counties of Cornwall and Buckingham, the dividing line to be the 42d parallel of south latitude, each government to be subordinate only to himself as Governor-in-Chief of New South Wales and its dependencies.

The colonists at once undertook the usual occupation of pioneers, and were able to avoid some of the difficulties experienced in the parent settlement at Sydney. Some shipments of stock were made from Sydney and some from Calcutta at considerable expense, and though a large number of stock died shortly after landing, the remainder threw well on the abundant pastures of the island.

Policy dictated that encounters with the natives should, as far as possible, be avoided. The blacks were timid, but inclined to be friendly; and the relations of the two races would undoubtedly have been very amicable, were it not for an untoward accident arising out of the culpable ignorance of Lieutenant Moore, who held command at Risdon during the absence of his superior officer, Lieutenant Bowen. A large party of natives, men, women and children, appeared close to the settlement; they were armed for the chase, and were engaged in hunting kangaroo. Lieutenant Moore, mistaking the intentions of the natives, and seeing that the men were armed, thought to forestall an assault by attacking them. The soldiers were hastily formed and ordered to fire, which they did with such execution that fifty of the unfortunate blacks, including many women and children, were slain. No explanation of the unfortu-

nate mistake could be made to the natives, who saw in the act of the colonists mere wanton aggression, and thenceforward there was relentless war between the two races. At the other end of the island the relations with the blacks were also unfortunate. The day after taking possession—12th November, 1804—Paterson's camp was approached by a body of natives 80 strong, and some small presents were made to the chief; the natives, however, wished to appropriate everything in the camp that their fancy lighted upon, and in self-protection the officer in charge was compelled to force them out of the camp; but presently they returned and attempted to throw a sergeant on guard into the sea, and otherwise maltreated two soldiers. Being fired upon, they made off, leaving in the hands of the settlers one of their number dead and another severely wounded.

The two settlements were for a long time without regular means of communication by land, and it was considered a remarkable feat when Lieutenant Laycock made, in eight days, the overland journey between Hobart and Launceston. Several years before Van Diemen's Land was taken possession of, the British Government had ordered the evacuation of Norfolk Island, but it was not until 1803 that the order was actually received on the island, and even then the greatest reluctance was displayed in carrying it out. The inhabitants of Norfolk Island, who numbered about one thousand, were very adverse to leaving their homes, and five years were occupied in completely removing them. Most of the settlers were emancipated convicts and owned small free-holds, in exchange for which lands were allotted to them in Van Diemen's Land or in New South Wales, as they preferred, and they were removed at the

public expense. On the whole they were dealt with most liberally. The place where most of them located themselves was Van Diemen's Land, and the new settlers called their location New Norfolk and Norfolk Plains, in memory of their much-loved island-home. The removal of the Norfolk Island settlers occurred at a very unfortunate time, so far as the infant colony of Van Diemen's Land was concerned. The colony was far from producing sufficient food-stuffs for its own requirements, and the mother colony of New South Wales, to which it looked for help in time of trouble, was suffering from adverse seasons, and could give it little aid. The climate of the island is mild and the seasons regular, and for the small population of the early days there was abundance of good land; nevertheless, the settlers suffered many severe privations, and for a time they were on the brink of starvation; provisions were reduced very low, and so great were the fears of the authorities, that they took the extraordinary step of enfranchising the convicts and arming some of them, so that they might obtain from the wilds of the forests the food which they could not receive from the public stores. The period of scarcity lasted for more than two years, and was only ended by the arrival of a cargo of wheat from India at a time when the colonists had ceased any longer to hope for succour.

Lieutenant-Governor Collins died in 1810, and several military officers in turn administered the government pending the appointment of another governor. It was during this period that Governor Macquarie visited the settlements to see with his own eyes the state of affairs in his dependency. He at once saw that there was no justification for the continu-

ation of two governments, one at Hobart and the other at Port Dalrymple, and accordingly he placed the government of the whole island under one head. In 1811 Colonel Davey was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and applied himself to the task of government with such alternation of firmness and weakness, as might have been expected from a man who spent his nights (like the Regent Orleans) in systematic dissipation. The community adopted its tone from the Governor; Government officials, high and low, lived in open lawlessness with the female convicts; wives were bought, sold, and exchanged as if they were chattel property. Sheep and rum were the only currency, and Van Diemen's Land as a colony made very slight progress, although there was a certain show of prosperity about Hobart itself, which gained no little importance from its nearness to the whale fisheries. But as regards the country districts, the condition of affairs was deplorable. Nor was Davey entirely responsible. The necessities of the famine years which caused the liberation of so many desperate ruffians, to enable them to live with as little assistance as possible from the public stores, had a very serious effect on the infant settlement. Many of the released convicts naturally refused to return to servitude, and being unable, if willing, to follow lawful occupations, they organised themselves into bands and terrorised the country districts, plundering and ravaging right up to the streets of Hobart. The Governor issued various proclamations against brigandage, and dealt severely with such of the outlaws as came into his hands, but it was not to be expected that much attention would be paid by the convicts to the threats and commands of a Governor, who himself showed so little respect

for morality and the common decencies of civilised life. The impunity with which the bushrangers carried on their nefarious trade was a standing invitation to the other convicts to escape from servitude and take to the bush, a matter very easy of accomplishment, as the guards were few and their duties many. The Tasmanian convicts were of the worst class, they were in many instances the irreformable criminals of the mother colony, sent on to Van Diemen's Land as a further punishment. The brutality of the outlaws became at last so aggressive that Davey, in desperation, put the whole colony under martial law, a proceeding quite beyond his powers as Lieutenant-Governor, and which was disallowed by Macquarie as Governor-in-Chief. Davey refused to continue in his position when his judgment in so important a point was overruled, and sent in his resignation. After Davey came Colonel Sorell as Lieutenant-Governor, a man of entirely different type. Davey had landed at Hobart in his shirt-sleeves and called at the first house he passed and asked for a drink. Colonel Sorell's landing was formal and official, and he was in most respects the opposite of his predecessor. Almost his first care was to suppress bushranging, and he succeeded so far as to relieve the settlers of the constant dread of pillage and ill-usage under which they laboured during the last years of Davey's administration. Almost every convict in Van Diemen's Land was a possible outlaw, and the bushranging trouble was never wholly conquered by Sorell, and, as will be seen, revived later on in all its violence.

For sheep-farming Sorell did a great deal, and acting on the advice of settlers acquainted with the mother colony, he procured three hundred lambs

from flocks of merinos which John Macarthur had bred in Camden, in New South Wales. Sorell also encouraged immigration by granting to eligible settlers grants of land and the loan of seed and stock. He also encouraged religion and education, so greatly neglected by his predecessor, and under his rule a newspaper was published, and the beginning of a public works policy may be found in the attention paid by him to opening up roads to the various places of settlement. Regular fortnightly communication was established between Hobart and Launceston, the time of journey taken by the mail being seven days to cover 133 miles. In 1821 the island colony depastured 170,000 sheep and 35,000 cattle, and 15,000 acres were under tillage. With a population of only 7,400 persons, Van Diemen's Land was able to export both wheat and wool, and the future looked extremely bright. Lieutenant-Governor Sorell was recalled in 1824, greatly to the regret of all classes of settlers. To Lieutenant-Governor Sorell succeeded Colonel Arthur in 1824, and in the following year Van Diemen's Land was granted by the Imperial Government, Executive and Legislative Councils with advisory and legislative functions. The Executive Council comprised four members, and the Legislature seven members, all nominated by the Crown. The Governor of New South Wales was still superior to the Lieutenant-Governor of the island, whose functions were given to him to be exercised in the absence of the Governor, but as the rulers of New South Wales did not visit the island, the authority implied by the name of Governor-in-Chief was never exercised. The last years of Sorell's administration had been attended with some relaxation of discipline. The Governor had dealt effectively

with the bushranging on his first assuming control of affairs, but towards the end there was a revival of outlawry. The administration of convict affairs, in reality the chief business of the Governor, was not altogether successful in Sorell's hands. It is probable that experience showed him that it was useless to attempt to reform criminals associated together as they were in and around Hobart, and he contented himself with the careful performance of his routine duties. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur's mind was of a different type. His pervading idea was the maintenance of discipline, and though much has been said of the barbarities committed during Arthur's twelve years' rule, it is certain that he was able to make the detention of the better class prisoners less brutalising than it was in the time of his milder predecessors. Towards the incorrigible offender Arthur was unrelenting—he was severity itself. Having cleared the country of bushrangers, he turned his attention to affairs of administration. He found much to complain of in the official management of affairs, and set about remedying them without hesitation and without fear. He suspended and removed all officials who thwarted him, or with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied, and from them and their friends arose cries of protestation at the Governor's tyranny. He also speedily came into collision with the free settlers and landowners, the latter especially did he estrange. The land regulations drawn up in England, to come into force in 1831, provided for the sale of Crown lands at not less than five shillings an acre; by distributing land-grants freely and without payment, before the regulations could take effect, the Governor for a time destroyed the sale value of other lands, to the indignation of the owners. The

free settlers were merely tolerated by Arthur; their intrusion into a penal colony was a misfortune, and tended to destroy the subordination of the population to the executive, as the free settlers could not be dealt with in the same way as the convicts. There were virtually two sets of principles to be observed in the government of the island. As many of the settlers were ex-convicts, those formed a special class midway between the men who had come to the colony free and the convicts actually in servitude, and sometimes one principle and sometimes another was applied to them in the administration of the law. It would appear that Arthur's line of action was agreed to by the Home Government from the first, as he steadily persevered in it to the end. The colony had been visited in 1824 by Governor Macquarie, of Sydney, who on his return spoke enthusiastically of the climate and resources of the island, and many settlers were induced to take up their abode there. Under Arthur's strong rule, life and property became absolutely secure, and maugre the political disadvantages associated with that rule, free colonists found Van Diemen's Land a very desirable place to live in. This new free element was a constant trouble to Arthur. With the convicts he knew how to deal; the emancipists had too uncertain a position to be able to give him much anxiety, but the criticisms of a free people and a free press had to be treated in a different mode. But Arthur was essentially autocratic. The press criticisms he met with a license fee and a stamp duty of three pence per copy and a £100 penalty for publication without a license. But this, though an arbitrary step, was but following an English precedent. As Arthur's local legislature was formed of nominees he had practically full control

of the machinery of legislation, and within certain limits could change the law as he wished. The people's only remedy was agitation and appeal to the Home Government, and they agitated and appealed until they at last won the same rights as were enjoyed by their fellow colonists in the other colonies; but from Arthur they gained very little. Under his long rule the face of the country brightened, settlement was widely extended, and communication by roads greatly facilitated, for the Governor employed all the convicts not assigned to settlers, and not so unmanageable as to need being kept under restraint, in road-making and on other public works. A large amount of capital was attracted to the country. The Van Diemen's Land Company obtained large grants of land in the north-west of the island—350,000 acres in all, of which 100,000 acres were at Emu Bay and Circular Head. Other land grants were given, but on a lesser scale, and large importations of live stock were made. When Governor Arthur's term of office expired the population of the island had increased threefold, trade had risen from £75,000 to nearly one million, and the public revenue had increased in proportion. Pleased with his services in Tasmania the Crown created him a baronet and conferred upon him the Governorship of Canada.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BUSHRANGING TROUBLES AND NATIVE DIFFICULTY.

EVERY Australian colony has had its bushranging period, but in Van Diemen's Land this was almost coeval with settlement. It has already been narrated how in the days of famine Colonel Collins released the convicts from their servitude in order that they might obtain their own sustenance by hunting. As Collins might have expected and probably did expect, many of these did not return to their chains, preferring the hardships of the bush to the lash of the taskmaster. Tasmania, like the mainland of Australia, does not afford sustenance for the human family unless the soil be cultivated, and the convicts who remained in the bush naturally took to plunder to support themselves, and the formation of the country favoured the escape of the plunderers. Even before Collins died bushranging had become a pest, and to such an extent did it prevail that agriculture was greatly impeded. The outlaws roamed the country in organised gangs, burning and destroying in the most wanton way. Brutal by nature, and made more brutal by the convict discipline of Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land, they became if possible even more depraved by the license they were able to indulge in after their escape from custody. Their horrible treatment of the aborigines will be referred to later on, and as they gained confidence by impunity, their treatment of the whites

was equally bad, and many settlers were so terrified by the treatment they had received, or by what had happened to their neighbours, that they abandoned their farms. The success of the outlaws was so complete that several persons of better class joined their ranks, and the community was in despair. The disallowance of Lieutenant-Governor Davey's proclamation of martial law, which has been alluded to in a previous chapter, had the happy result of bringing about his resignation and the succession of Colonel Sorell. The new administrator's first work was to put down bushranging. Large rewards were offered for the capture of a bushranger, and private persons freely subscribed to the fund out of which the rewards were paid. The license prevailing in official circles, and in the convict gangs, was put an end to; all communication with the outlaws was stopped, and all convicts likely to attempt to escape, or who were well disposed towards the outlaws, were confined to the settlement at Macquarie Harbour. Promises of pardon were made to men still in servitude as an inducement for them to engage in the pursuit of the bushrangers, and outlying settlements were strictly guarded. The first effect of these measures was to prevent the recruiting of the outlaws by the accession of escaped convicts, and one after another the bands were broken up, and their members killed or captured, but not without great loss of life to the pursuers. One of the last to fall was Michael Howe, the worst of all these ruffians who disgraced the name of man, who added to crimes innumerable and abominable the basest ingratitude to those who befriended him. An interesting sketch of the career of this notorious scoundrel is given in Heaton's Dictionary. Howe was at one time a sea-

man of the Royal Navy, and afterwards the owner of a small coasting vessel. He was transported from England for highway robbery, and arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1812. He was assigned as a servant shortly after his arrival, but on the first opportunity he escaped to the bush and joined a gang of outlaws commanded by a desperado named Whitehead, and numbering about twenty. The gang attacked and sacked the town of New Norfolk, and marched on to Pitt Water, burning and destroying the houses, haystacks, and other property of all the farmers who were obnoxious to them. Returning, they again attacked New Norfolk, which was defended by the settlers assisted by some soldiers. The settlers were again worsted, but Whitehead was seriously injured, and finding himself unable to move and unlikely to recover, asked Howe to shoot him and cut off his head, so that the settlers would not receive the reward placed by the Governor upon it. This Howe did, and assumed command in Whitehead's stead. The depredations of the gang continued with additional vigour until their fastnesses were betrayed to the police by a native girl, belonging to the gang, who had been captured by the soldiers. This girl had been Howe's companion, and he was accustomed to leave his companions for short periods and retire to some mountain fastness with her. These hiding places were disclosed to Howe by the girl, to whom he was apparently much attached. Howe gave himself up to Captain Nairne on an assurance of present safety, and a promise of his intercession for pardon. The outlaw did not remain long in restraint, but escaping from his guard again took to the bush. He found his gang broken up, only two men remaining. One of these, named Watts, ar-

ranged with a stock-keeper named Drewe to betray him, and, taking Howe unawares, they effected his capture, and having bound his hands behind him the captors proceeded to bring their man into Hobart, with the hope of obtaining the price put on Howe's head. On the way Howe managed to get his hands loose, and springing upon Watts, seized his knife and stabbed him fatally, then taking his gun shot Drewe dead on the spot. The reward for the capture or killing of Howe was increased, and freedom and a passage to England was offered if the captor were a convict. The bait was too tempting to be long resisted. A convict named Worrall, conspiring with one of Howe's mates and a soldier named Pugh, attempted the capture. After a desperate struggle with Howe the men, not being able to take him alive, dashed his brains out. In a pouch which Howe carried was found a record of his crimes, and the names of his many accomplices as well as of the receivers of stolen property. It was asserted by Howe at the time he gave himself up, that some of the police, apparently the most eager in pursuit of him, were really his accomplices, and shared with him the gains of his nefarious trade. It is now well known that during the bushranging period the interests of justice were betrayed by those who were charged with the mission of preserving the peace. The constables were prisoners of the Crown, and it was their interest to detect, or pretend to detect, crime, thus obtaining a claim to quicker liberation. The most atrocious perjuries were at times committed by the police, deliberately implicating innocent persons, and it was ascertained without doubt that in many cases they received a share of the booty. The destruction of the bushrangers was followed by a period of great

progress, but outrages again commenced towards the close of Governor Sorell's rule, and when Governor Arthur took office he found there was a recrudescence of bushranging in its worst form. As before, the bushrangers were escaped convicts, and owing to the merciless severity with which Arthur administered the laws, many other convicts took to the bush, preferring death by starvation to the horrors of the convict system. In the year 1825, which was about twelve months after Arthur's arrival, over one hundred armed convicts were at large, and a reign of terror was again established. Every outlying homestead was loopholed for defence, and muskets primed and loaded stood ready for the defenders, who left one or more of their number on the watch lest they should be surprised by armed marauders. So great was the daring of the outlaws that one desperado named Brady, at the head of a mounted gang, seized the town of Sorell, a place a few miles west of Port Dalrymple, locking up in the gaol the soldiers they found there and liberating the prisoners. The condition of affairs became so bad that it became a question whether the authority of the Crown would cease over a great part of the island. Governor Arthur determined to make the most strenuous personal efforts to put an end to the organised brigandage, and, getting together a strong body of soldiers and civilians under his own leadership, he systematically hunted the outlaws down, and in 1826 the plague was once more stamped out and the law again prevailed. Many of the bushrangers were shot down in their tracks, and during 1825 and 1826 one hundred and three who were captured were executed.

Van Diemen's Land had a native difficulty almost from the first days of settlement. Allusion has al-

ready been made to the unfortunate slaughter of the natives at Risdon. In this affair where fifty lives were lost the blacks were innocent of all wrongdoing; the disaster occurred owing solely to the ignorance and panic of Lieutenant Moore and the settlers. This outrage was in no way atoned for, and begat the most bitter and relentless hostility in the native mind. It might be supposed that time would have softened the feelings of the natives towards the settlers, but their ill-treatment was so continuous that the healing effects of time had no chance of operation. When Lieutenant-Governor Collins released the convicts to save them from famine, and enable them to live by the chase, he added a new scourge to the natives. Many of the convicts were the scum of the gaols, who looked upon the aborigines as fair game, and used them accordingly. Their babes were murdered in cold blood, their maidens brutally violated, and their wives stolen or lured from them by these fiends in human guise. The authorities did their best to put an end to this troubled state of affairs, but presently found themselves unable to protect the white settlers and the aborigines were left to their fate. Governor Davey did his best for the natives, but his best was very little. The bushrangers were not likely to pay heed to the proclamations and notices which Davey so freely issued. It is probable they were treated as intended, by way of a joke, as, indeed, one remarkable document, issued in the name of the Governor, appeared to be. This notice took the form of a pictorial exposition of the British laws relating to the crimes of theft and murder and showed the punishments inflicted on white and black alike for the offences. A more evil set of men than the bush-

rangers never before roamed at large in a British colony. Deaf to all the instincts of humanity, they shrank from the commission of no crime; they recoiled from the perpetration of no act of fiendish cruelty. We are told by those who recorded the doings of the time that "The wounded were brained; the infants cast to the flames; the bayonet was driven into the flesh; the social fire round which the natives gathered to slumber became, before morning, their funeral pile." Sometimes the younger and better-looking of the aboriginal women were spared, but it was only to fill the offices of drudge, slave, concubine, and instrument of lust to their ruthless and brutal possessors. Thus goaded to desperation the aborigines meditated awful reprisals, and met force with craft, murder with secret bloodshed, plunder with cunning ambuscades and adroit pillage. But, unhappily for them, the superstitious natives dreaded the darkness as do children. They threw themselves at night upon the ground around the watchfires which revealed their whereabouts to their unsleeping enemies, and, thus exposed, were surprised and slaughtered as they slept. Colonel Sorell, who followed Davey, did what he could to protect the unfortunate race who continued to be outraged, murdered, and debauched by white settlers and escaped convicts. The problem was, however, a large and difficult one, and Sorell's resources insufficient to cope with the evil in an effectual and a humane manner, and things were, perforce, when his term of office expired, very much as he found them when he took up the reins of government, except that the number of bushrangers had been somewhat diminished, and for every outlaw removed there was one less persecutor of the natives. But the outrages upon the natives were not solely the

work of the escaped convict; on the contrary, the free white—very often, it is true, an emancipated convict—was sometimes as bad as the bushranger, but his excuse for his conduct was reprisal for outrages committed by the natives, nor can it be denied that the black man readily learned to imitate the crimes of the white, and no outlying homestead in the colony was safe from plunder, or its inmates safe from outrage. The natives in time acquired some sort of organisation, and at one time they submitted to be led by Mosquito, an Australian aboriginal, whom the Sydney authorities had sent to Van Diemen's Land for safe-keeping. Under Mosquito's guidance the aborigines vied with the white outlaws in every species of outrage. Mosquito was captured and executed, but his death did not affect the conduct of the natives, and Governor Arthur found it necessary to take vigorous action, determining to succeed where others had failed. Martial law was proclaimed, reserves were set apart for the use of the natives, and a reward of £5 offered for every adult and £2 for every child captured and brought in without suffering any hurt. Capture parties were organised and the settlers enthusiastically took up the native hunt. Many aborigines were secured but not without many fatal results. Even the best intentioned colonists came into serious conflict with the natives, and the Governor determined to end the struggle by an elaborate scheme by which the natives were to be driven into a corner of the island and then kept in restraint. Governor Arthur's plan was to draw a military cordon across the island, from St. Mary's on the east coast of Deloraine, half-way across the island, and then southward to the Derwent. The persons engaged in the operation numbered about

2,000, of whom 800 were soldiers and police, 700 convict servants, the rest being free settlers. Elaborate measures were taken to secure the success of the operation, and twenty-six depots for provisions were established. When everything was arranged the word was given to move forward. For two months the long line advanced, gradually contracting its flanks and pushing forward the apex, and it was calculated that the result of the movement would be to drive the blacks into Forestier's Peninsula, out of which there was no escape. The cordon was so drawn that its left rested on the sea, and its right on the Derwent River, and none of the blacks could escape except through the line of beaters. The tedious operation was at last completed and the parties closed in on the narrow isthmus joining the peninsula to the mainland, and to the extreme chagrin of the Governor not one of the aborigines was found to have been driven into the carefully selected trap. The sole result of the expedition was the capture of one old man and a boy. After this disastrous failure, which cost the Imperial Government upwards of £30,000, the Governor's consent was won to allowing a humble bricklayer of Hobart, George Augustus Robinson, to attempt, by kindness and conciliation, what the capture parties had failed to accomplish. The Governor allowed Robinson one hundred pounds a year, and gave him full authority to look after the interests of the natives. With a few friendly natives Robinson went unarmed to every part of the island, exhibiting the greatest courage and constancy in his difficult enterprise. The blacks showed him the utmost respect and confidence, but it was nearly four years before he was able to induce the remnants of the tribes to trust

themselves to the good faith of the whites. Robinson's journey was undertaken on foot; indeed, the greater part of the country inhabited by the natives was not otherwise approachable, and he is stated to have walked over 4,000 miles. When the blacks were mustered their numbers were found not greatly to exceed two hundred, so great havoc had a few years made in their ranks. The blacks were placed in Flinders Island, the largest of the Bass Straits group. There, despite the kindness and generous treatment meted out to them, robbed of their patrimony, they soon withered away. The settlement at Flinders Island was formed in 1835, and in 1847 it had dwindled to forty-four. This remnant was removed to Oyster Cove, on the mainland, on 3rd March, 1869; William Lanné, the last male survivor of the race, died at Hobart, and seven years later Turganini, the daughter of the chief of the once warlike and powerful tribe of Bruni Island, also passed away. Thus perished the sole survivor of a gentle race of savages, whose horrible treatment by the early settlers of Van Diemen's Land is a foul blot on the records of the British race.

CHAPTER XXV.

ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, who succeeded Colonel Arthur in the government of Van Diemen's Land, was a man of entirely different type. He had seen much service, having served on board the *Bellerophon* at Trafalgar as signal midshipman, and at the battle of New Orleans in 1814. In 1819 he was in command of an overland expedition from Hudson's Bay to the Arctic Ocean; in 1825 he did other important work in the Arctic Seas, and after leaving Van Diemen's Land was to become still more famous for his Arctic expedition in command of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, in which expedition he sacrificed his life. The people of the colony welcomed Franklin with the greatest cordiality, being greatly flattered that a man so distinguished should have accepted the post. Hobart, in Franklin's time, became a great intellectual centre, and during his stay was visited by John Gould, the ornithologist; by Captains Ross and Crosier, of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, returning from their Antarctic expedition, with whom was Dr. Hooker, the great botanist; by Charles Darwin, then at the beginning of his great career; by Count Strzelecki, the explorer; and by the savants of the French Antarctic expedition, in the *Zele* and *Astrolabe*. Lady Franklin lent her husband the cordial assistance of her earnest nature, and did much to promote the social

and intellectual life of the colonists. The intellectual position amongst the Australian cities achieved by Hobart in Franklin's time was not wholly lost when he retired from the colony, and to this day the Royal Society of Hobart stands high in the estimation of kindred bodies. Franklin's efforts for the improvement of the settlers were attended with success, and he contrived to win popular opinion to his side. He gave publicity to the proceedings of the Legislative Council, and lent the influence of his strong personality in favour of progress. Under happier circumstances Franklin would have been an ideal governor, but he was out of place as the head of a huge convict settlement, and his position required that he should carry out the policy of the Home Government in regard to transportation. In 1840 transportation to New South Wales ceased, and the convict stream was diverted to Van Diemen's Land. The number received yearly was about 3,000. This was a far larger number than could be absorbed by the colony, and colonists of all classes grew alarmed. The flow of free immigration fell off as the convict stream increased, and the colonists felt that so long as the colony was made the receptacle for the gaol scourings of England, self-government would be denied them. They therefore rose in energetic protest against a continuance of transportation and demanded the concession of responsible government. Neither boon was then granted, and the agitation continued without interruption for ten years longer until they were both finally conceded. In dealing with the convicts Franklin was not successful. Governor Arthur had acted upon the principle that a certain residuum of the convicts were irreclaimable, and to treat them with consideration

was futile; the dread of punishment was the only motive that would influence them to refrain from crime or bring them to subordination. Franklin's nature led him to think that kindness would beget gratitude, and gratitude would beget reform, and he was disposed to try what a change of system would bring about. To this course, also, he was constantly urged by his secretary, Captain Maconochie, who carried tenderness to excess. Governor Arthur had taken infinite pains to perfect his Draconian system of convict policy; the men who could be trusted were assigned to settlers; those who required strict watching were disposed amongst the road gangs, while the worst offenders, the incorrigibles, the thrice convicted, were relegated to the restraints of Port Arthur, where it must be owned the sound of the lash might be heard all day long. Franklin's rule of mildness was not relished by the prison officials, most of whom had been trained under Governor Arthur, and was never really put into effective operation, for Franklin's sentimentality could not make way against the inexorable facts of the situation. In the end the officials triumphed, though Franklin's influence was always to be counted on where mercy was possible. Towards the end of Franklin's governorship the colony began to suffer from the depression which afflicted Victoria and New South Wales. By some this was said to be due to the influx of convicts, but it is not a very probable explanation, seeing that the influx of convicts brought with it a large expenditure of money. The depression was due to causes outside Australia, and was accompanied by a fall in the prices of the principal productions of the colonies, and was not effectively removed until the discovery of gold transformed

the old order into a new and brighter one. Franklin was recalled to England in 1843. It has been the lot of many high officials in these colonies to be the victims of intrigues; no service, however meritorious, is able to secure an officer from the malice and resentment of inferior minds, where such have access to the ear of those in authority. Franklin had dismissed the Colonial Secretary of the colony (Mr. John Montague) for insubordination. Montague was able to get to England before Franklin's explanation reached the Colonial Office, and he laid various charges against the Governor which were readily swallowed by the officials, with the result that Franklin was recalled, and his explanation heard afterwards.

Sir John Franklin had not left Hobart when his successor, Sir Eardley Wilmot, arrived. The new Governor was fated to be in direct conflict with the colonists during the greater period of his term of office. The horrors of the Norfolk Island convict establishment have been depicted by more than one master hand, and they need not be here recounted. Captain Maconochie's rule of mildness had completely broken down, and had been succeeded by an administration which was stern and merciless, if not cruel and revengeful. The lash and other forms of gaol discipline were enforced with a frequency and a callousness that destroyed their effect. The Norfolk Island men had, it was thought, reached the depths of depravity when they were received on the island, but a brief residence thereon proved that there were still greater depths to which man might fall. The horrors of the island became so notorious as to awaken the British Government to the necessity of closing the prison, and

they hastily ordered the transference of the prisoners to Van Diemen's Land. This was done during Wil-mot's term of office, and many of the colonists un-reasoningly blamed the Governor for an act in regard to which he had not the least responsibility. Van Diemen's Land was now a convict land to an extent that no other colony had ever been before. In 1838, out of a population of 30,000 there were over 18,000 convicts. When the Norfolk Island prisoners, num-bering about 2,000, arrived in the colony it is prob-able that there were at least 30,000 convicts in the island, for during the previous years prisoners had been arriving at the rate of 3,000 a year. To a cer-tain section of the colonists the increase in the convict element, with the attendant large expenditure of Im-perial funds, was a great advantage, but the great ma-jority of the people were absolutely opposed to the system, as from a moral point of view they feared the effect that the degrading spectacle of convict life would have upon their children, and they foresaw that the permanent progress of the colony would be arrested unless they were able, not only to prevent a further influx of convicts, but dispose of many of those already in the country. In 1845 there were employed in different parts of the colony more than twenty gangs of probationers, numbering from one hundred to four hundred in each gang, besides the large number at Port Arthur, and in private em-ploy. The free colonists were panic-stricken at the growing proportions of the fixed penal establish-ments throughout the island, and the agitation to put a stop to further importations of convicts from other parts of the Empire grew most intense. The colonists were greatly dissatisfied with the action of the Im-perial Government in another important particular.

That Government had been accustomed to spend some £300,000 on the maintenance of the penal establishments in Van Diemen's Land. From the very beginning there had been in the minds of the Imperial authorities charged with prison affairs, an idea that in due time the Australian penal settlements might be made self-supporting. To give effect to this idea the Secretary of State for the Colonies determined that instead of employing convicts in making roads and carrying out public works as heretofore, they should be employed in clearing and cultivating lands. The crops raised were to be consumed by the convicts, and the surplus sold in the open markets to the detriment of the farmers, who thus were cut off from a valuable part of their market and exposed to a disastrous competition for what remained. Agriculture greatly declined and free immigration ceased and the revenue from Crown lands shrank greatly, as there were few sales. The colony might have kept free from debt had it been possible to cut expenses down, but this could not be done. The local cost of maintaining the large police and gaol establishments, needed to deal with the abnormal social conditions of the population, was more than the finances of the colony could stand, and it was plunged into a debt of £100,000, while the revenue was fast diminishing. In this extremity the Governor proposed to raise the duties on imports from five to fifteen per cent. This proposal was strenuously opposed by the colonists and by the independent nominees in the Legislative Council, six of whom, afterwards known as the patriotic six, resigned their seats rather than acquiesce in the imposition of fresh burthens under an irresponsible system of government, and as a protest against the

conduct of the Governor, in borrowing money from the banks and spending it without the authority of the Legislature. The financial difficulty was got over by a compromise, the British Government agreeing to contribute £24,000 a year towards the maintenance of police and gaols, the local revenues being charged with half that sum.

Sir Eardley Wilmot furnished another example of the ready way in which interested and mendacious accusations from subordinate officials are received by those who hold political power. In October, 1842, he was suddenly recalled from his Government, in consequence of secret accusations made against his private character. These accusations were repelled by the Chief Justice and two hundred and fifty leading members of the community, but without effect on the Colonial Office. The unfortunate Governor died soon afterwards of a broken heart, in consequence of the cruel assault upon his fair name.

The Government was administered by Mr. Charles J. Latrobe in the interval between the departure of Sir Eardley Wilmot and the arrival of his successor, Sir William Thomas Denison. The new Governor's rule was to be one of conciliation. One of his first acts was to restore the "patriotic six" to their seats in the Council, Governor Wilmot's nominees having been induced to retire. This victory of the colonists made them all the more determined to maintain vigorously the anti-transportation movement, and their efforts were greatly strengthened by the organisation of a league which ultimately extended to all the colonies and became a powerful factor in determining the ultimate victory. The Colonial Office depended largely upon Denison's advice in regard

to transportation and the concession of responsible government to the colony; a self-opinionated man, he failed to estimate the strength of popular feeling against transportation, and lent the weight of his judgment to those who considered that the advantage to the country of a large supply of cheap labour, and a large Imperial outlay within the colony, more than outweighed the moral and economic disadvantages attending the presence of a large convict population. He also advised very strongly against the concession of responsible government. For several months the people of the colony had indulged themselves with the hope that transportation was over, but to their dismay, on the 12th November, 1848, the ship *Ratcliff*, with two hundred and forty-eight criminals on board, arrived at Hobart; in the following year, twenty ships carrying 1,860 convicts anchored in the Derwent and added their wretched freight to the population of the colony. The remonstrances of the Australian people were lost upon the Colonial Office. Attempts had meanwhile been made to land prisoners from England at Cape Town, at Melbourne, and at Sydney. At the two first-named ports the landing of the convicts was successfully resisted, and at Sydney, though they were landed, it was understood that no further attempt would be made to add to the number already in the colony. It was clear to the people of Van Diemen's Land that their colony was likely to be made the receptacle for the incorrigible criminals of the United Kingdom. The anti-transportation league, with the Reverend John West of Launceston (afterwards of Sydney, and editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*) at its head, renewed its exertions, and they at last began to bear fruit. In 1850 a Bill was passed by the Imperial Parliament providing for

the establishment of Legislative Councils in Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Victoria. Each Council was to consist of twenty-four members, and it was provided that one-third of them were to be nominated by the Crown, and two-thirds to be elected by the people. The elections which followed in Van Diemen's Land brought in sixteen members pledged to oppose further transportation of convicts to the colony, and when the Council met, an address to the Queen was carried, remonstrating strongly, but respectfully, against the influx of criminals. The enthusiasm and perseverance of the reformers now bore fruit. The Governor, it is true, in forwarding the address intimated his total dissent from its prayer, a compliance with which would, he believed, be calamitous to the best interests of the colony, without improving the moral condition of the people. Sir William Denison's advice was, however, not accepted in London, for upon the Aberdeen Ministry coming into power their first important act of office was to announce that transportation had absolutely ceased, and the official declaration of the change was made in the colony in May, 1853. Great rejoicings followed the happy event, and the 10th August, 1853, was set apart to commemorate it. The same day was memorable also as the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the colony, and there was a general determination that it should be the beginning of a new era. As a sign of the change to be, the people determined that the name Van Diemen's Land, with all its evil associations, was no longer to be used, and that the colony should henceforth be called Tasmania after its discoverer, and they hoped that the change would be a happy omen of its future progress.

Tasmania owes, directly, little to the discovery of gold, but indirectly a great deal. The extraordinary richness of the Victorian gold-fields attracted the attention of the whole world, and Tasmania, by its proximity to Victoria, was at once most powerfully affected. All kinds of produce reached fabulous prices and were exported to Victoria in such quantities that the value of exports rose from £666,790 in 1851, to £1,509,883 in 1852, and £1,756,316 in 1853. Migration of population from Tasmania to Victoria at once took place in alarming numbers. In 1842 it is estimated that there were in the colony nearly 40,000 adult males, but, such was the migration to the gold-fields, that in 1855 the adult males left in the colony did not much exceed 22,200. It is believed that the great body of ticket-of-leave men took advantage of this movement and left the colony; large numbers of convicts also absconded, greatly to the relief of Tasmania, which thus got rid of a class which, had it remained, would have been a pernicious leaven in so small a population.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

SIR WILLIAM DENISON was appointed to the Governorship of New South Wales and left Tasmania at the close of 1854. His going was felt as a great relief by the colonists, by the majority of whom he was cordially and justly disliked. To him succeeded Sir Henry Fox Young, a man of entirely different character, who very speedily contrived to win the good-will of the people whom he governed. It was in Sir Henry Young's term that an order was passed by the Queen's Privy Council which ratified the popular change of the colony's name to Tasmania, and from 1st January, 1856, the odious appellation "Van Diemen's Land" disappears from the public records. The colony was in a most prosperous condition, of which it gave a striking proof by raising, by private subscription, £25,000 for the relief of the widows and orphans of soldiers who fell in the Crimea. The colony had lost heavily to Victoria by the emigration of adult males during the height of the gold rush, and the Government now felt in a position to do something to replace those who had gone. A system of immigration was initiated, and a superior class of farm servants and agricultural labourers were brought to the colony chiefly from Great Britain. Some of these after a short stay in the country were enticed to Victoria by the continued

report of gold discoveries, but the majority remained in Tasmania and secured homes for themselves under the favourable Land laws of the colony.

In 1854 the Legislative Council was enlarged from twenty-four to thirty-three members. The promise of representative institutions had been made to the colony and the old Council was, therefore, practically moribund, as it was only a question of a few months when it would be superseded by a parliament directly responsible to the people. One of the last acts of the Council was an unseemly struggle due to an assertion of its claim to certain extravagant powers, dangerous for any popular assembly to possess, and which, if acknowledged, would have been of little use to an expiring institution. The Council had instituted an enquiry into the working of the penal department, a department which had been grossly mismanaged, and was thought to be corrupt. Properly conducted, the enquiry might have led to important results and much-needed reforms; but at the very outset the Council was led into an unseemly controversy in regard to its powers, and allowed itself to be so far in the wrong that the penal officials not only escaped the threatened enquiry, but were able to pose as ill-used persons upon whom the Council attempted to exercise tyrannical powers.

The Council's Committee summoned Dr. Hampton, Comptroller-General of the penal department, to give evidence before it. Hampton refused to attend, and there were ways by which his presence might have been secured, had the Council been in a constitutional frame of mind. But the Council would not consider the action of Dr. Hampton other than as an affront to its dignity, and as it claimed the

full powers and privileges of the British House of Commons, the Speaker issued a warrant for Hampton's arrest. Relying upon the advice of the Crown Law officers Hampton resisted arrest as being illegal, and served upon both the Speaker and the Sergeant-at-Arms writs of *Habeas Corpus*. Not being otherwise able to effect its purpose the Council applied to the Governor to authorise the police to arrest Hampton, but instead of complying Sir Henry Young, very properly, attended its sittings and read the members a severe lecture on the nature and consequences of their conduct, which he described as an attempt to substitute tyranny for law. Following up this rebuff the Governor prorogued the Council. The matter, however, did not end here, but was carried to the Supreme Court, and afterwards to the Privy Council, at both of which tribunals Dr. Hampton was successful. This action of the Legislative Council had the effect of enabling a very necessary enquiry to be burked, and of casting a good deal of ridicule upon representative institutions.

Tasmania was the first of the Australian colonies upon which responsible government was conferred. For in 1855 the Queen assented to "an Act to establish a Parliament in Van Diemen's Land and to grant a civil list to Her Majesty." Before the constitution could come into operation it was necessary that the old Legislature should, as its final act, pass an electoral law to carry out the provisions of the Imperial Statute. This was done, and the elections took place in September, 1856. Both the Council and the Assembly were elective, the former comprising fifteen, and the latter thirty members. Most of the members of the old Council found places in the new Parliament. The Parliament was opened by

commission on the 2nd December, 1856, and the first Ministry consisted of the following members:—

Colonial Secretary and Premier.....	William Thomas Napier Champ.
Colonial Treasurer.....	Thomas Daniel Chapman.
Attorney-General.....	Francis Smith.
Solicitor-General.....	John Warrington Rogers.
Minister for Lands and Works.....	Henry Frampton Anstey.
Without Portfolio.....	William Edward Nairn.

This Ministry lasted only four months and its successor only two months, but stability soon came to the cabinets of the colony. Henceforward the history of Tasmania ceases to present any striking incidents. The first years of responsible government were devoted to the development of the resources of the country, and to passing legislation of a democratic character, which the old Legislative Council had shelved. Amongst works of utility undertaken shortly after the introduction of responsible government were the lighting of Hobart with gas and the supplying of Launceston with water. In 1857, also, the new Government House was completed at a cost of £120,000, an enormous outlay for so small a colony, but the Government had a fine revenue, and so long as the gold-fields in Victoria lasted the Tasmanian colonists felt themselves secure of a good market and the Government of a handsome revenue. Tasmania has never forgotten the traditions of the literary epoch which came in with Franklin's rule, and one of their earliest efforts after they acquired the right to govern themselves was to establish a University. The proposal made by the Rev. R. D. P. Harris, in 1855, to form a University was not carried out, but a Bill was passed appointing a Council of Education with power to confer the degree of

associate of arts, and having also the gift of two scholarships, each of the value of £200 per annum, tenable for four years at an English University. In 1859, Parliament turned its attention to the question of establishing rural municipalities, and the settlement of the vexed question of State aid to religious denominations. In 1836, Governor Franklin had been led to promise a grant of an endowment to all religious bodies in a position to comply with certain conditions, and though a modification of Franklin's settlement was found inevitable, the arrangement still subsisted at the time responsible government was instituted. Parliament in 1859 agreed to abolish State aid, but the claims of persons then in receipt of grants were to be respected, and it was decided that these grants should be commuted for a round sum, and it was estimated that £100,000 would be sufficient for the purpose. The Bill embodying this was passed, and the sum required was authorised to be raised by loan, but the matter remained in abeyance for ten years, when the Act received the Royal Assent.

Sir Henry Young retired from the Government of the colony in 1861, and was succeeded by Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, C.B. Governor Young was very popular, and the necessity for his departure was very much regretted by the Tasmanian people, who throughout his rule made comparison between Young and his methods and his predecessor and his methods, much to the disadvantage of the latter. Throughout Governor Browne's term of office there was constant agitation for a forward policy in public works, but the colony was suffering a reaction from the palmy days of the Victorian gold-fields, and the Treasurer found it difficult to

make ends meet. The fine climate and acknowledged resources of the colony were not able to draw population, so long as the more showy attractions of the gold colonies were offering, and from 1860 to 1870 the population increased only by 13,000 persons, and none of this increase was due to immigration. The necessity of checking the exodus of population and of bringing settlers to the colony was always before the Ministry and Parliament, and a law was passed in 1867, granting to heads of families, paying their own passage to Tasmania from Europe, a grant of land valued at £18 for each person over fifteen years of age in his family, and a grant valued at £9 for each person under fifteen years. The law was extensively advertised but brought very few people to the colony. About the same time 50,000 acres in the County of Devon were set apart for the settlement, under certain conditions, of retired officers from India. A good many officers availed themselves of the offer made to them and formed a very desirable addition to the population of the country. In 1868 Sir Thomas Gore Browne's term of office expired. He was in many ways an ideal Governor, and during his seven years of rule was able to do many things for the social advancement of the colonists. Colonel Browne was succeeded by Mr. Charles Du Cane, who arrived in the colony on 12th January, 1869. The year 1870 was remarkable as the lowest point touched by Tasmania as regards industrial conditions since it became a free colony; the external trade in that year being only £1,441,625, as compared with £2,030,580 in 1860. In January, 1868, the railway line from Launceston to Deloraine was commenced, and in 1871 it was completed and opened for traffic by Gov-

ernor Du Cane. The arrangements in regard to the line were of a very peculiar character and extremely unbusiness-like. The funds for the construction of the line were mainly provided by the State, not more than £50,000 out of £450,000 being found by the promoters. Interest was to be paid to the Government, and the debt was a first charge on the earnings of the line, but there was an arrangement under which if the earnings were insufficient to pay the interest, landowners agreed to make good the shortage, by a special rate to be levied on their property. Contrary to all anticipations the earnings proved insufficient to meet working expenses and interest. Accordingly, the Government took the line over from the Company and proceeded to levy a special rate, amounting to £15,000 a year upon the district served by the railway. The property owners refused to pay, alleging that the projection of the main line of railway, joining Hobart and Launceston, the interest on the construction of which was guaranteed by the colony as a whole, absolved them from their obligations, as in the matter of railway construction all parts of the country should be served alike. Legal proceedings were commenced by the Government for the recovery of the rates due, and sixty-five magistrates of the northern district petitioned the Governor to order the suspension of these proceedings, and to direct that no further action be taken in regard to the collection of the rates. The Governor had, of course, no power in the matter, and the Cabinet decided that the rates should be paid, whereupon twenty-six of the magistrates resigned their commissions. The Government recovered verdicts in all cases, and 1,200 distress warrants were issued. Most of them were executed and a large amount of moveable

property seized and conveyed to Launceston, for the purpose of sale. Frequent riots occurred, property was rescued from the bailiffs, or its removal resisted. A good deal of damage was done to the town of Launceston by the exasperated settlers whose goods had been seized, and the whole country-side defied the law. At last the Government gave way and took no further action to collect the tax, and in the following year an Act was passed unconditionally releasing the landowners of their obligations in regard to the special rates.

On 4th December, 1871, Mr. James Smith found the rich deposit of tin at Mount Bischoff, and this important discovery marks the beginning of a new era in Tasmania. The discovery of tin drew the attention of the people to the investigation of the rich mineral resources of the colony. The search of explorers was speedily rewarded, for soon after the Mount Bischoff discovery other rich deposits of tin in the north-east of the island were found, and at the same time payable gold was discovered in several districts. More recently rich deposits of silver were found at Mount Zeehan, Hazlewood River, Mount Dundas, and the discovery of a rich belt of copper-bearing country from Mount Lyell to the Rocky and Savage Rivers was a crowning triumph, and served to revolutionise the character of the mining industry of the colony. The knowledge that the colony possessed such vast stores of natural resources had an important influence in promoting its developments in other directions. The Government was encouraged to enter upon an extensive scheme of railways and other public works necessary to open up the Crown lands and promote settlement, with the effect that whereas in 1871 there were few roads

and no railways, in 1890 there were 5,659 miles of road, and 463 miles of railways, and in 1898, 495 miles of railways. Governor Du Cane yielded up his office in November, 1874, and was succeeded by Mr. F. A. Weld, who had been for six years Governor of Western Australia. Mr. Weld was a man of great business capacity, and to his good counsels much of the expansion of Tasmanian public works is due. The colony was unfortunately troubled with short-lived ministries, a very bad condition of affairs for a growing colony, which, above all things, requires a stable public policy free from extravagance; whereas weak ministries, while they interrupt the settled policy of the country, are prone to extravagance owing to the necessity of spending money on public works for the purpose of conciliating those whose support they require.

Governor Weld remained in office until May, 1880, when he was appointed Governor of the Straits Settlements, Lieutenant-General Sir J. H. Lefroy being temporarily appointed. General Lefroy held office from October, 1880, to December of the following year, and was succeeded by Sir Robert G. C. Hamilton, previously Under Secretary for Ireland. Sir Robert remained as Governor until October, 1892, and was followed by Viscount Gormanston, who arrived in the colony in August, 1893.

With an area of only 26,200 square miles, and without a commanding trade position, it cannot be expected that Tasmania will ever rank as a great colony, but its position amongst the progressive States of Australia is certainly assured. For many years the Tasmanian-born youths, as soon as they reached the verge of manhood, betook themselves across the Straits to Victoria and other colonies on

the mainland, and it was a constant reproach to the colony that it could not contain its own children. This state of affairs has now altogether passed away, and the colony offers attractive inducements for settlers, which will undoubtedly be increased since Federation is established. From the small number of 114,762 in 1880, the population had increased to 145,290 in 1890, and 183,300 in 1899, and during late years has advanced at a yearly rate of nearly three per cent. Hobart and Launceston, the principal towns, are yearly becoming more attractive and vie with almost any of the other Australian cities in the beauty of the situation and surroundings. The shipping entered and cleared now represents a movement of six and a half tons per inhabitant per annum, which is undoubtedly a very large tonnage for a country not in the direct line of the shipping routes.

The export of Tasmanian produce amounts to £10, 4s. per inhabitant, the total for 1898 being £1,800,000. Tasmania has a smaller revenue and expenditure both absolutely and relatively than any of the other colonies of the group, and is burthened with a less amount of public debt, although an indebtedness of £8,413,000 must be considered large for 183,000 people.

None of the colonies entered so strongly into the idea of Australian Federation as Tasmania, and none polled so overwhelmingly in its favour, only 1,500 votes being cast against the proposal at the second referendum. In this course the people were well aware that they were taking grave risks and surrendering cherished hopes. The ablest press writers and financiers, together with the accomplished Tasmanian Statistician, pointed out the dangerous

effect that federation would have upon the finances of the colony, but the people were willing to incur the risk and, for the sake of Australian union, make even the harder sacrifice of surrendering the hope that Hobart might be the chosen capital of the Commonwealth.

PART SEVEN.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FROM FIRST SETTLEMENT TO ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION.

THE French vessels *Thetis* and *L'Esperance*, commanded by De Bourganville and Ducampier, were, in 1825, cruising about the southern coast of Australia, and as France was at that time strongly suspected of having designs upon some portions of the Continent, the Governor of New South Wales sent a few soldiers and convicts, under the command of Major Lockyer, to form a settlement at King George's Sound, and so shut out the French should they wish to land there. King George's Sound is an excellent port, and lies close to the direct route of all vessels trading between Europe and Australia, and was chosen more on account of its strategic position than the possibilities of its becoming a place of commercial importance. The inferiority of the country round King George's Sound for agricultural purposes was well known in Sydney, and with the intention of finding a more suitable location for settlement, the New South Wales Government despatched Captain James Stirling, in January, 1827, to examine the country in the vicinity of the Swan River. Captain Stirling

sailed in H.M.S. *Success*, and had with him Mr. Charles Frazer, the Colonial Botanist, who had instructions to make a critical examination of the country, as the New South Wales Government were anxious that a mistake should not be made in the selection of the site of the proposed settlement.

The country along the banks of the Swan River was carefully examined, and surveys of the islands and shore line made by the ship's officers. The report which the expedition was able to give of the country was so favourable, that the Sydney Government had no hesitation in deciding upon the Swan River as a suitable place for settlement. Captain Stirling was sent to England with the recommendations of the New South Wales authorities in regard to the proposed location of the settlement, and to him was given the charge of its organisation. The business of taking formal possession of the country had, however, first to be performed, and Captain C. H. Fremantle was sent from the Cape of Good Hope for that purpose, and on 2nd May, 1829, his vessel, the *Challenger*, anchored off the mouth of the Swan River and took formal possession in the name of His Majesty King George the Fourth of "all that part of New Holland which is not included within the territory of New South Wales."

The first Order in Council having reference to the new settlement at Swan River was dated December, 1828, about six months prior to the visit of the *Challenger*. This order offered very advantageous terms to persons proceeding to the new settlement at their own expense during the year 1829. For every three pounds invested in the colony by each settler was given the right to claim forty acres of Crown lands, with 200 acres added for every servant, male

or female, whose passage out he paid. A condition, however, was attached to the grant to the effect that any lands which were not sufficiently reclaimed or satisfactorily improved should revert to the Crown. A later Order in Council extended the time for free grants until the end of 1830, but the original terms were restricted in various minor ways, with a view to securing genuine settlement. Great inducements were held out to retired or pensioned officers, and settlers entitled to half-pay or pensions were considered as having a special amount of invested capital, and treated accordingly in the distribution of lands. The tempting offers made by the British Government were eagerly availed of, the more especially as there was an implied condition that convict labour would not be introduced into the new colony.

On 2nd June, 1829, the hired transport *Parmelia*, 443 tons, commanded by J. H. Luscombe, arrived in Cockburn Sound. On board were Lieutenant-Governor Stirling, his family, and other intending settlers to the number of sixty-nine. A few days later H.M.S. *Sulphur* arrived with a small detachment of the 63rd Regiment under Captain F. C. Irwin. With the landing of these emigrants the history of Western Australia as a British colony begins. Closely following the *Parmelia* and the *Sulphur*, a number of other vessels arrived, bringing immigrants and live stock. Excluding the military and their families, there had arrived up to the end of 1830 about 1,767 persons with stock, as follows: Horses, 101; cattle, 583; sheep, 7,981; pigs, 66; goats, 36; and a large assortment of poultry. The value of property introduced and upon which land grants were claimed was, according to Mr. Malcolm A. C. Frazer, £73,260, and the area claimed in respect

thereof at the rate of 40 acres for every three pounds in value, was 976,805 acres; there was also introduced miscellaneous property in respect of which no land grants could be claimed to the extent of £21,021, making the total value of property imported in twelve months £94,281.

Under the prodigal provision of the Order in Council in regard to land grants, the best land was speedily taken up, and a colonist who arrived in November, 1830, only seventeen months after the arrival of the *Parmelia*, wrote as follows: "The only land available for present purposes is on and near the banks of the rivers (viz., the Swan and Canning). All this is now allotted on both sides of each river, almost to their source;" and, writing again on the 8th December, in the same year, he said: "All the lands up the Swan and Canning have been long since granted, but some of the grantees have left the colony, and their lands may be resumed by the Government if not occupied at the expiration of the year."

There were no roads made in the new settlement for some time after the arrival of the first ships, and the bush tracks were too heavy for ordinary traction. The only means of transport was by water, and there was a good deal of disappointment in the minds of many settlers, who anticipated that not only would land be granted them on the easiest of terms, but good roads would be formed to their homesteads by the Government. It is possible that already there was some regret that a body of convict labour was not available for the construction of roads and other public works, as was the case in the eastern colonies, where all the main roads were carried out at the public expense. Many of the early arrivals were persons quite unqualified for pioneering; unaccustomed

to suffer hardships and privations, ignorant of agriculture, unused to isolation, they soon began to complain, and their reports to England were gloomy in the extreme. The new settlement was one which largely depended upon the good reports of its pioneers for an accession of population, and these reports were uniformly lacking. Many persons left the colony in disgust, but they were able to retain possession of such land as had been granted to them, so that those who arrived afterwards were unable to get land in favourable localities. For this reason population became thinly distributed over a wide area, which was a double disadvantage, for most of the settlers were sociably inclined and greatly suffered from their enforced isolation; while the distance at which the homesteads were scattered rendered road-making out of the question, as there was little labour available even for the main roads.

Notwithstanding the withdrawals, the majority of the early settlers possessed stout hearts. Unfitted though they were for the stern work of the pioneer, as a body they struggled unflinchingly on. They were, of course, greatly discouraged on their first arrival by the apparently infertile nature of the soil, which had been represented to them as exceptionally good, and also by the unlooked-for difficulties that beset the novice at every turn. Some of those who lost heart did not, however, return to England, but proceeded to the eastern colonies, where the conditions of existence fell into more beaten channels. But the greater number worked on, digging and ploughing, reaping and sowing, and tending their stock. We are told that the progress made by the new colony during the first five years of its existence was by no means inconsiderable. According to the

Commandant, Captain Irwin, Fremantle had grown during that short space of time "into a small but neat town, with wide streets, some of which had been macadamised." Perth had many good houses of wood and brick, officers' quarters and soldiers' barracks, a gaol, a church, and substantial shops and stores; while settlement had crept along the river flats. Above the islands, over which the "Perth Causeway" was subsequently thrown, the Messrs. Hardy and Clarkson had established farms and gardens and comfortable homesteads. Higher up, at Guildford, the farming people brought out by Mr. Peel were turning the rich soil of their "little village" to profitable account. The real settlers were glad enough to see the grumblers depart, and the Governor, Captain Stirling, was able to inform the Home authorities that the settlers were struggling manfully, maintaining a cheerful confidence in the qualities of the country and a general belief in the future prosperity.

Governor Stirling had two terms of office: the first running from June, 1829, to September, 1832; and the second from August, 1834, to the close of the year 1838. It was during his second term of office that the native difficulty became acute. There had been disturbances of a minor character almost from the beginning of settlement in November, 1830; one black was killed and three wounded while attempting to commit a robbery, and in retaliation the tribe to which the natives belonged killed a white man. In December of the same year a native was killed while robbing a garden at Melville, and a few days afterwards the natives surrounded the owner's house and killed his servant. In January, 1832, a settler named Gaze was killed. These outrages cannot be

deemed very astonishing, when it is considered that the blacks had been deprived of their usual hunting and fishing grounds by the whites, and were much exasperated at the destruction of the game by the settlers. In 1835, especially in September and October, the natives along the Murray River became extremely troublesome, and a pitched battle was fought between the blacks and the settlers at a place called Pinjarrah. The Governor had placed himself at the head of the settlers and attacked the natives, who had mustered in large numbers, killing some thirty of them; on the side of the whites Captain White was killed and several wounded. The result of the affair was the cessation of the raiding by the blacks and the establishment of something like friendly relations between the two races—at all events in the country around Perth.

The affairs of the colony were administered after Governor Stirling's departure by Governor Hutt, Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke and Lieutenant-Colonel Irwin. During their government little progress was made; in 1843, when the first census was taken, the population had only reached 2,900, a ridiculous result after thirteen years of colonisation, and considering that there were 1,800 persons in the settlement in the first year. In 1848 there were 4,622 people in the colony, and even the best disposed colonists were inclined to say that their efforts at colonisation were a failure.

It was at this time that the people decided to petition the British Government to send them the convicted prisoners, the attempted re-introduction of whom into the eastern colonies was causing so much dissatisfaction. As it happened, the Imperial Government was looking for some place oversea for the

deportation of convicted prisoners, hence the colonists of Western Australia had not much trouble in obtaining a complaisant answer to their prayers. On the first of June, 1850, the first shipment of convicts arrived in the *Scindian*, and there were on board a guard of 50 pensioners and 138 women and children. The convict period lasted about eighteen years, during which time about 10,000 persons were sent from England to Western Australia. During the earlier years of the system the convicts who were transported did not belong to what may be really termed the "criminal class" at all. They were not typical and irredeemable gaol-birds. Indeed, some of the "shipments" were selected with a peculiar and paternal care, and with a kindly view as to the requirements of labour-starved colonists. These offenders were in most cases agricultural labourers, who had been convicted of various inconsiderable offences against the game laws—just the men to make useful assistants in the work of colonisation, and later admirable settlers themselves. The convicts sent out were not, of course, all of this class, and a fair number of the worst type of criminals were undoubtedly contributed from the overcrowded prisons of the Mother Country.

There is now hardly any question but that the introduction of convicts into Western Australia was not attended with any great harm to the community, and in many ways was beneficial. Some people affect to trace the present high rate of crime in the colony to the "convict taint"; to these it may be answered, that the convicts of Western Australia left few descendants behind to whom an hereditary tendency to crime could have been transmitted, while persons transported to the country and still remain-

ing there and mixing with the general community are singularly few, and do not figure largely in the police returns. If an argument drawn from analogy be of any force, then Tasmania, which received the largest number and the worst class of convicts, ought to rank high in the scale of criminality, yet the facts are directly opposite, for no part of Australia is so free from serious crime as the island colony.

At the beginning of the convict period the prisoners were employed in erecting buildings in Perth and Fremantle, but when Governor Hampton took office in 1862 he employed them on works of a more useful character. Hampton had been in the service of the Imperial authorities in Tasmania, and thoroughly understood the management of prison labour, and one has only to look at the roads of the colony for evidence that he used the material at his command to the very best advantage. When Hampton left Western Australia in 1868 it was arranged that no more British convicts should be sent there, but those already in detention remained in the colony to serve their sentences, so that the Imperial expenditure continued, but on a diminished scale. The effect was very soon visible in the trade of the colony and in the condition of general business, which both greatly declined. Here it may be well to look at the population figures for a series of years, as from these may be obtained a fairly just view of the effect which the transportation system and its withdrawal had upon the progress of population.

	Population.	Annual Increase.
1830.....	1,767	
1840.....	2,311	54
1850.....	5,886	358
1860.....	15,227	934
1870.....	25,084	986
1876.....	27,321	878
1880.....	29,019	424

In no period was the increase of a substantial kind, but during the transportation days, there was a larger movement of free population than either before or afterwards, until the gold discoveries changed the whole aspect of affairs.

Settlement had spread between the years 1850 and 1860 to various points along the coast, and in 1861 a discovery was made which gave promise of a great accession to the wealth of the colony. This was the finding of pearl shell beds in the vicinity of Nickol Bay by Mr. Pemberton Walcott, one of Mr. F. T. Gregory's party in 1861. Operations were first confined to the locality named, and the shells obtained from the reefs when laid bare by the low tides, or collected by diving in shallow water without the aid of any apparatus. The shallower inshore banks having for the most part become worked out, a little search led to the discovery of a practically inexhaustible supply of shell in deeper waters, and boat diving was resorted to. Up to this time the pearl divers were almost entirely aborigines and the employers were mostly landholders upon whose holdings the blacks lived. It is admitted that, taken as a class, the blacks were well treated; the masters needed cheap labour, and it would have been folly for them to have irritated the blacks, who were the only source from which such labour could be supplied. Colonists in other parts of Western Australia had hostile encounters with the blacks from the beginning of their settlement, but at Nickol Bay the natives gave little, if any trouble, the settlers doing everything to win their good-will. Before the pearl industry was begun the squatters had already taught the aborigines about their holdings, what was necessary they should know in regard to the herding of

sheep and general station work, the natives taking to these occupations with the greatest relish, learning also to love the white man's food and the white man's ways. But the business of a sheep station slackens off at certain seasons of the year, and the aborigines camped on a squatter's run were not disposed to move away when their services were no longer needed, and so lose the advantage of the white man's food; nor could the squatter afford to let them go, as by so doing there was a possibility that he might lose their services altogether. The pearl industry offered an opportunity of employing the blacks all the year round, and by combining pearl-fishing with sheep-grazing, the squatters had two profitable openings for the employment of their black retainers. The landholders or squatters and the blacks lived together in peace for several years, and this amity would have lasted much longer but for the fact that the profitable nature of the pearl industry became much talked about. Persons who were not pastoralists established themselves on the pearl grounds, and sought black labour on the same terms as those on which the pastoralists were able to obtain it, that is, for a nominal wage. Some blacks came to them, but not in numbers sufficient to man their boats, and the master pearlers began to seek for labour amongst the wandering tribes not under the protection of the landholders. Sir T. Cockburn-Campbell states that "nigger-hunting amongst the wild blacks became not unknown, nor other practices decidedly irregular." This is a very mild description of the operations of the class of speculative pearlers who were bent upon getting their labour at the least possible cost, and whose black divers were nearly all impressed and retained in service only by force.

In consequence of the new element introduced into the industry, and the abuses which were declared to have arisen, the Government was compelled to pass legislation regulating the contracts made between the two races, and designed to protect the interests of the blacks. But the conditions under which the industry was carried on were such that the modern device of a mutual agreement, enforceable at law, could not be applied to the pearl industry. The aborigines speedily learnt that the squatters whom they had considered the representatives and embodiment of British dominion, were, like themselves, the subjects of a greater power, and were not more privileged in the eyes of the law than their servants, black or white; and this knowledge made them in many cases so overwhelming and quarrelsome that they became useless to their masters. The difficulty was not one that could be got over. The Government could not abandon the blacks to the generosity of the whites, many of whom were worthy to be trusted, but some of whom were little better than slave-drivers. Nor could the whites carry on an industry in which discipline was so necessary with men who, though little better than savages, had yet the privileges of citizens when it came to be a difference or dispute with their employer. The unsuitability of the aborigines for the pearl industry, when working under the protection of the law, has not had any effect upon the development of the fisheries; the places of the aborigines have been taken by Malays, and the industry continues to prosper, and the average value of the take during the past ten years has rarely fallen as low as £50,000, and has sometimes exceeded £100,000 per annum.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

To Governor Hampton succeeded Mr. Frederick A. Weld, whose term of office extended from September, 1869, to the close of 1874. Governor Weld was a man of excellent abilities, and had considerable experience in administration in New Zealand. He arrived in Western Australia when it was practically a huge prison. In every respect the conditions that make for progress were wanting. He thought that he perceived the causes that tended to keep the colony in a state of backwardness, and determined to apply a remedy. In the first place he set about breaking down the barriers which isolated the country he had come to govern, from the outside world. At the time of his advent in the colony, the monthly mail steamers that called at King George's Sound were the one means of regular communication with the rest of the world. But, says an observer of the period, if the colony as a whole had few media through which to maintain her relations with her neighbours, the isolation of her individual settlements was almost equally deplorable. Any one who landed at Albany could get to Perth by two routes. He could, for instance, wait at the place of debarkation until chance enabled him to take a passage by some small and inconvenient coaster, and, risking the dangers of the Leeuwin, reach the capital from Fremantle. On the other hand, he could travel by road in a freight-trolley or

a dray; but the road was metalled only in patches, and consisted mainly of long stretches of heavy sand, miles of ironstone boulders, long jolting leagues of ruts and hollows—and, if the weather were propitious, and things went well, the journey lasted for five days. Governor Weld determined to alter all this, and never rested till he had placed steamers on the West Australian coast.

One result of the initiation of this coastal inter-communication was the beginning of a brisk trade, that steadily grew brisker, between these formerly isolated little seaports. The first steamer was wrecked off the Margaret River, with some loss of life; and then Messrs. Lilly & Company, and later the Adelaide Steamship Company, entered the business. As opportunity permitted the operations of steamship companies spread, until all the intermediate ports between Albany and Cambridge Gulf were regularly and efficiently served.

Governor Weld's next demand was the establishment of a system of electric telegraph. He had managed to connect his far separated coastal outposts by means of the steamship; but this did not content him. He wished to unite by means of the electric wire the scattered hamlets of the interior. He had many difficulties to overcome, but before his departure, at the end of 1874, he had the satisfaction of seeing at least all the principal centres of population connected by telegraph lines. Having carried the colonists along with him so far, he determined they should go farther. By the aid of his Legislature, which had now been made two-thirds elective, he induced the Colonial Office to consent to the raising of a loan to provide funds for the construction of the colony's first railway. This was a line from Cham-

pion Bay to Northampton, where there were rich lead deposits and copper in great quantities. Unhappily for the speculation, before the railway was completed, the price of lead fell to so low a figure that very little ore was mined and the railway failed to pay working expenses. The contractor also involved the colony in costly difficulties and disputes, and the colonists' first venture in the field of railway construction was neither profitable nor encouraging. Nevertheless, the Northampton line was no sooner completed than work was commenced upon another line which, starting from Fremantle, went on to Perth and Guildford, and crossing the Darling Range, tapped the rich farming lands beyond.

Governor Weld did many other things to advance the interests of the colony, and the enterprise of the Governor seemed reflected in the people. During his term of office various industries, notably mining, were developed; a partially representative legislature was established; municipal institutions were introduced; an Education Act was passed, and, as already mentioned, telegraph lines were constructed and steamship communication opened up along the coast.

Western Australia was, however, phenomenally slow in throwing off the swaddling clothes of infancy, particularly when the period of its emergence is considered with relation to the advancement made by the sister provinces. Governor Weld is largely and honourably associated with much of its social and political progress. He arrived in the colony at a time when political aspirations had begun to awaken, and the people evinced a desire to partake more directly in the management of their affairs, and he stimulated the new political awakening to the utmost. Though eager and anxious to minister to the

progress and welfare of the people over whom he ruled, his schemes for their advancement were frequently thwarted by the Colonial Office. This caused his recognition of the fact that his position with the Downing Street authorities would be far stronger if he were backed by representatives of the people. In the year 1870 he was permitted to carry out his ideas so far as to secure a Legislature partly elected and partly nominated, just as was found in the other colonies prior to the introduction of responsible government. But Governor Weld was not the only political authority in the colony. His chief secretary had acquired, through the favour of the Governor and by his own abilities, a position very little different from that of a responsible minister. The Governor freely made use of the ability and energy of his assistant in forwarding the projects he had at heart. Mr. Barlee very naturally felt a great disinclination to return to the subordinate position he had previously filled, and consequently conceived the idea of placing himself in a still higher position by becoming Premier of the colony under responsible government. Governor Weld had, however, only a year before expressed a decided opinion, in a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that Western Australia was not ripe for that form of Constitution; nevertheless, he allowed himself to be persuaded not to offer opposition to the wishes of his lieutenant.

The energetic Colonial Secretary next set to work to gain converts to his view among the members of the Legislative Council, with whom he had great influence and authority. Several of them were young men, whose introduction into public life had been made under Barlee's auspices, and they felt that so

capable a leader might be safely trusted with the conduct of the experiment of self-government. Resolutions were accordingly passed in 1874, requesting the Governor to introduce a Constitution Bill, conferring responsible government upon the colony. To this His Excellency gave his consent; but differences of opinion at once arose as to the details of the measure, and the Legislature was dissolved.

To Governor Weld succeeded, in January, 1874, Mr. William C. F. Robinson, a man with entirely different views from his predecessor as to the proper policy to be pursued in regard to the agitation for responsible government. The Colonial Office was against making the concession, not being disposed to hand over the administration of nearly one million square miles of territory to the representatives of the 27,000 persons who then made up the whole white population of the colony. The task of the Governor, in discouraging the agitation, would have been no easy one were it not that Mr. Barlee, the most prominent politician and the person who conceived that he had the most to gain from responsible government, accepted an appointment as Governor of Honduras, and the party of progress was left without a leader sufficiently weighty to counterbalance the views of the Colonial Office. It is doubtful, however, whether there was at the time a truly popular demand for responsible government. The population numbered only 27,000 altogether, of whom 5,000 were in Perth, and anything in the nature of a popular appeal from so scattered a population was well-nigh impossible. It is probable that there were few well-informed persons in the colony desirous of seeing responsible government introduced for its own sake. With a Governor like Weld, whose

ideas were progressive, the colonists would probably have been well content without responsible government, which was sought chiefly as the best means of enabling the progressive policy begun by Governor Weld, and carried out with such conspicuous success, to be continued. The originator of the movement having departed, and as no one was left of sufficient experience to replace him, the agitation for responsible government for the time lost its importance, although a section of the press still continued to advocate it.

The great question having been shelved for the time being, a sort of political indifference came upon the colony during the remainder of Governor Robinson's term of office; even the one great exploratory expedition of the time was due to Sir Thomas Elder's munificence, and is therefore to be put to the credit of South Australia, to which colony Sir Thomas Elder belonged. Governor Robinson quitted office in August, 1877, and in November his successor, Major-General Sir Harry Ord, arrived.

Governor Ord had to deal with a renewal of the agitation for responsible government which his predecessor had managed to quench. It must not be supposed that the agitation was any more a popular one than that occurring a few years before; although it was essentially the expression of the views of the persons most entitled to be heard on questions affecting the welfare of the country. The basis of the agitation was the impossibility of getting the Colonial Office to understand that the wishes of the colonists, in regard to progressive legislation, and a forward public works policy, were entitled to respect, and that the less the Colonial Office interfered in the domestic concerns of the colony, the better would it

be governed. The Legislative Council rejected a motion in favour of responsible government; but this course was prompted by a desire not to hamper the Home Government, as the real views of the Council were probably favourable to Home Rule. Following the rejection of the resolution in regard to responsible government, a motion was passed virtually censuring the Colonial Office, and intimating that unless its policy of obstruction was abandoned, the demand for responsible government would inevitably have to be conceded. The remonstrance of the Council had good effect upon the Colonial Office, and there was henceforward no undue interference with the affairs of the colony.

Major-General Ord was succeeded in April, 1878, by Sir W. C. Robinson. Governor Robinson's previous term of office had lasted but two years and eight months, and his present term of office was still shorter. From the departure of Governor Weld to the granting of responsible government, a period of less than sixteen years, there were nine Governors and administrators, and from this fact alone it may be rightly concluded, that the Governors ceased to play an important part in the administration of the colony, which practically drifted into the hands of the Executive Council, at whose meetings the Governor was enjoined to preside whenever possible. The Executive Council, in the last years preceding the advent of responsible government, consisted of the Governor as President, five official Members, and one unofficial Member, and all the great offices of the State were represented, viz., the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Treasurer, the Surveyor-General and the Director of Public Works.

The most noteworthy incident in Sir W. C. Robin-

son's second term of office was the control which the Legislature secured over the finances of the colony. The Legislative Council had heretofore only a nominal control; the estimates of expenditure were submitted to it, but merely *pro formâ*, as the obligations represented by them were already incurred, and any change or reduction, which, however, could not be made effective without the consent of the Governor, would amount to repudiation. The Legislature having voted an address to the Queen concerning the policy of spending public money by the Governor and the Executive, without the consent of the representatives of the people, the Secretary of State for the Colonies directed the Governor to have a Bill introduced into the Legislative Council, securing to that body full control of the finances and empowering it to set up a Committee of Finances to act for it during recess. The control of the purse thus assured gave the Council the control of the Government, which it very speedily assumed. It was hoped that the people of the colony would now be satisfied with the form of Government they enjoyed and would not further press their claims to full self-government, but the event was far otherwise, and it became plainly evident that the concession of responsible government could not now be delayed many years.

To Sir W. C. Robinson succeeded Sir Frederick Napier Broome, whose period of service lasted from 2nd June, 1883, to December, 1889, with an intercession of seven months in 1884-5 when Mr. A. C. Onslow acted as administrator. Western Australia is the only colony which deliberately departed from the principle of government ownership of its railways. The first railways, as already mentioned,

were constructed by the State, but the Government could not see its way to add to its already large indebtedness, by raising further loans for railway purposes, much as it felt that such railways were needed. The system of land-grant railways was devised to meet the threefold object of affording facilities of transit, introducing capital, and promoting settlement. The Legislative Council by resolution authorised the Executive to make arrangements for the construction of certain lines on the land-grant system, and in accordance with this authority an agreement was signed by Sir Frederick Broome on behalf of the Government of Western Australia, and Mr. Anthony Hordern on behalf of an English syndicate, for the construction of a line from Albany to Beverley, a distance of 243 miles; the line is called the Great Southern Railway. Another agreement was made for the construction of a line from near Guildford on the Eastern Railway, to a place called Walkaway, a distance of 277 miles; this was called the Midland Railway. In both cases the land granted by the State was 12,000 acres per mile. The lines were constructed in accordance with the agreements made, although there were many difficulties encountered before the Midland line was opened for traffic. Since the arrangements were made for the construction of these lines, the changed conditions of the country have modified its policy, and the Government has abandoned the principle of land-grant railways. It has, indeed, gone further and has acquired the Great Southern Railway from its owners, and will probably acquire the Midland Railway also.

There had always been an influential party opposed to the introduction of responsible government on any terms, but it is probable the colony as a

whole was against its introduction on the terms upon which the British Government were willing to make the concession—that is, the creation of the settled area in the south-west corner of the Continent into an independent colony, the remaining portion of the territory to be governed as a Crown colony. During the second administration of Governor Broome the demand for responsible government, silent for a time through the lukewarmness of the majority of the Legislative Council, again became pressing. Formerly the cry was for responsible government only, now the demand was for such a government for "Western Australia one and undivided." The colony was, however, for some time far from unanimous, but the influence of a popular Governor told in favour of the movement, and by the end of 1886 public opinion of all classes could be counted on as favourable to Home Rule.

By an almost unanimous vote of the Legislative Council in July, 1887, a resolution was agreed to affirming the principle of self-government, and the Governor was requested to take the necessary steps to carry out the wishes of the Legislature. The Governor, acting upon the instructions of the Colonial Office, determined to proceed only when it was quite certain that the constituencies were in favour of the change, and in December, 1888, the Legislative Council was dissolved and a new Council elected in January following. This gave the constituencies an opportunity of deciding whether or not they would accept the proposed constitution. Their answer was unmistakable. When the Council re-assembled the resolution in favour of responsible government was carried without dissent, and a Constitution Bill was immediately introduced, and after some amendment

passed and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. To explain the measure and ensure its passage through the Imperial Parliament, the Western Australian Legislative Council authorised three delegates to go to London. The delegates selected were Sir Frederick Napier Broome (the Governor), Mr. S. H. Parker, and Sir Thomas Cockburn-Campbell. The local Legislature was not misinformed of the state of public opinion in England, in regard to the proposed constitution, when they decided to send strong representatives to explain the measure, for very marked opposition was shown to it at every stage of its passage through Parliament. The opposition was centred upon the clauses giving the entire control of the Crown lands to the local Parliament. It was held by a large number of members of the British House of Commons, that these lands were the common heritage of the British people, and should be retained and made available for the settlement of the surplus population of the Mother Country. To hand over a million square miles of territory, much of which enjoyed a temperate climate, to a handful of people—for the population of the colony did not then exceed 45,000 persons—was a piece of folly verging upon a political crime. The delegates did their best to explain matters, but with little apparent effect. Their opportunity came, however, when the Bill was referred to a Select Committee, of which Baron de Worms was chairman. The Committee took a good deal of evidence, and agreed to recommend to the House of Commons that the Bill should be passed substantially as required by the local Legislature. This recommendation was adopted, and the Parliament about to be created was made equal in all respects to the Legislatures of the other Austra-

lian colonies, and had, therefore, full control of the public lands. Nor was the triumph of the delegates lessened by the curtailment of the Western Australian territory which, as its people demanded, was left "one and undivided." The Bill enabling Her Majesty to grant a constitution to Western Australia passed through both Houses of the Imperial Parliament and was assented to on the 15th August, 1890.

The first Ministry under the new Constitution assumed office on the 20th December, 1890, and consisted of the following Members:

Sir John Forrest.....	Colonial Treasurer and Premier.
George Shenton.....	Colonial Secretary.
Septimus Burt, Q.C.....	Attorney-General.
William Edward Marmion..	Commissioner of Crown Lands.
Harry Whittall Venn.....	Commissioner of Railways and Director of Public Works.

The Forrest Ministry was still in power in 1900, ten years after its formation, but of its original members the Premier alone remained in office.

The Constitution granted to Western Australia was in all important respects like those of the eastern colonies. Parliament was to be composed of an elective Assembly and a nominated Council, but in regard to the Council it was provided that as soon as the population of the colony reached 60,000 the members of that branch of the Legislature should also be elected. The limit named was reached by the middle of 1893, and an Act was then passed giving effect to the elective provisions of the Constitution. Sir Frederick Napier Broome, as already narrated, left for England at the close of 1889 in order to assist in passing the Constitution Bill through the

House of Commons. Sir Malcolm Frazer administered the Government pending the arrival of Sir William C. F. Robinson, who had been appointed Governor of the colony for the third time.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GOLD DISCOVERIES.

THE examination of the surface of Western Australia for traces of gold was begun as soon as the discoveries in Victoria became noised abroad, and has continued without intermission ever since. It will not be necessary to trace every expedition which set out; this has been done by Mr. Malcolm A. C. Frazer in his excellent *Year Book of Western Australia*, from which most of the following particulars have been extracted.

In 1862 the Government named Mr. E. H. Har- graves, a practical miner—who had discovered the New South Wales gold-fields in 1851—to search for precious minerals throughout the settled districts of the colony, for a period of six months or longer if necessary. Landing at Albany, he prospected the country as far as Northam and through the Darling Range. He made a very unfavourable report, stating that the formation of the area over which he travelled was of such a character, that gold would never be found in large or payable quantities; indeed, so confirmed was he in his opinion that in January, 1864, he wrote an article on “The non-auriferous character of the rocks of Western Australia,” which was published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of that year. Har- graves, however, expressed the opinion that the colony was rich in copper, lead and iron. Nothing

daunted by this unfavourable report, the Government encouraged prospecting by the offer of most substantial rewards. Time after time the hopes of the colonists were raised by reports of important discoveries, but up to 1884 all proved illusive. In the year named the Kimberley District was favourably reported on by Mr. Hardman, the Government Geologist, and the question of its systematic examination was taken up by the Legislative Council, in August, 1885, but while the matter was being debated, a party consisting of Messrs. Hall, Slattery, and others, chiefly miners from the eastern colonies, had already arrived in the Nor'-West. They first found gold on one of the branches of the Elvire, where in a few days they took out ten ounces. From thence they prospected the Margaret and Ord Rivers, finding good colours in almost every prospect hole.

The Legislative Council, in June, 1886, were congratulated by Governor Broome "on the discovery of an extensive gold-field of rich promise in the Kimberley District," and on the 16th August, at that session, the first "Gold-fields Mining Bill" was passed.

The question as to who was the first discoverer of the Kimberley gold-fields came up before the Legislative Council. Mr. Carr-Boyd claimed to have discovered a rich reef and to have sent several cwt. of the stone to Melbourne before the Hall party appeared in the district; he applied to the Colonial Secretary to have his claim recognised, and the reward offered for the discovery of a payable gold-field paid to him, but after examination the Government made an award of £500 to Hall, Slattery and party.

The Kimberley Gold-field was proclaimed on the 19th of May, 1886, and prospectors rushed from all

parts of Australia, and by the end of June there were probably 1,500 to 2,000 men scattered over the auriferous area. During the year 1886 many rich reefs were discovered throughout the district, and several parties obtained enough gold from the surface rock, by the primitive dollying process, to more than pay expenses. Prospecting over the more southern parts of the colony was carried on with renewed vigour, and in 1887 the Yilgarn Gold-fields were discovered, the Government distributing £1,000 amongst the discoverers. Next year the Pilbara Gold-field was proclaimed, and so many rich patches were found upon the fields of this district that a rush set in from the eastern colonies, and prospectors were scattered over the whole interior of the colony from Kimberley to Yilgarn, and many minor finds were made, some of them being very rich. The finds in the Murchison District became so important that in 1891 the district was also proclaimed a gold-field, the Government as usual granting a reward to the discoverers.

The year 1891 was rich in gold finds. The Cue field, covering a large extent of country, was discovered by Messrs. Cue and Fitzgerald, and the rich finds becoming known, it was not long before there were a number of men on the spot. The field proved exceptionally rich, and in a short time a large amount of gold was secured by "specking" and "dry-blowing." Rich gold-bearing reefs were found at various points throughout the district, notably at the "Island," in Lake Austin, where, in addition to rich quartz, a channel was found containing cement, from which for some time marvellous returns were obtained.

The first discovery on the Yalgoo field was made in

1890 in the Nancarrong Hills, near the Yuin Station, where gold was found in a reef on a low range of hills five miles east of the station. From one place gold to the value of over £15,000 was dollied from the cap of the reef.

The exceptional rich finds created a great sensation throughout Australia. The people of the other colonies flocked to Western Australia in great numbers, and the scenes enacted recalled to old miners the events of 1852. The following table showing the movement of population during ten years will illustrate the effect of the gold finds:

Year.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Excess of Immigrants.
1889.....	2,850	2,272	578
1890.....	3,567	1,996	1,571
1891.....	6,346	2,661	3,685
1892.....	7,440	2,968	4,472
1893.....	8,928	3,705	5,223
1894.....	25,858	9,892	15,966
1895.....	29,523	11,129	18,394
1896.....	55,215	19,266	35,949
1897.....	49,387	26,787	22,600
1898.....	32,709	28,756	3,953
Total.....	221,823	109,432	112,391

Still more sensational finds were yet to be made which brought the gold-fever to the highest pitch. Mr. Frazer very well describes the great find at Bayley's Reward claim, and the excitement consequent thereon in the official account already alluded to. In the month of April, 1892, Messrs. Bayley and Ford left Perth on a prospecting expedition. They proceeded to Mount Kenneth, about 250 miles to the north-east; here they lost their horses, and had to walk back to Newcastle, where they bought fresh ones, and again started with the intention of making

for the Marring country, where gold had been found by Speakman the previous year, but they met "the fellows rushing back," who reported the place was very poor, and not worth spending any time in. After these discouraging reports, Bayley and Ford headed for Southern Cross. Purchasing supplies enough to last seven or eight weeks they started eastward on Hunt's old track—made in 1864-65—and after a tedious trip, when they were very near the now famous field, were forced to turn back to the Gnarlbine soak for water. After resting two days they started in a north-easterly direction. They found the country so boggy that their progress was very slow; presently they reached the native well—Coolgardie—where they camped. Finding the place covered with grass they let their horses out to graze while they went "specking" across the flats. Here Ford picked up a half-ounce nugget, and before next day they found over twenty ounces of gold. During the next three or four weeks they secured by specking and dry-blowing over 200 ouncees. Their provisions giving out they were forced to go back to Southern Cross for a fresh supply. They were careful, however, not to say anything about the discovery they had made, but hurried back, and on the first Sunday afternoon after their return, while fossicking about, discovered the reef which soon became known all over the mining world; that evening they picked up and dollied with a tomahawk from the cap of the reef over 500 ounces of gold, one slug weighing over fifty ounces, and early the next morning they pegged out a prospecting area on the reef. Shortly after Messrs. Foster and Baker, who had tracked them from Southern Cross, appeared upon the scene, and in a short time they secured over 200 ounces.

Meantime, Bayley quickly made his way back to Southern Cross, carrying 554 ounces, which he exhibited to Warden Finnerty on the 17th September, and applied for a lease of the discovery claim. The field was then declared open and Bayley, on the 20th, again left Southern Cross for Coolgardie, not alone, but accompanied by a coach, by teams, and a host of horsemen, leaving Southern Cross almost deserted. The news quickly spread throughout the colony. The *West Australian* of the 21st September said: "In Perth and Fremantle every one seems to be either carrying tents, picks, shovels, and dishes, or otherwise preparing for the road." At York there was a great excitement over the departure of 200 eager gold-seekers; they travelled by coaches, teams, horses, camels, and on foot, all bound for the land of gold.

Kalgoorlie, or Hannan's, was discovered in the latter part of June, 1893, by Messrs. Flannigan and Hannan, who were on the road to Mount Yuille with a party of about 150 men. They camped two days on or near the spot where the find was subsequently made, waiting for teams which had gone back to Coolgardie for water; but rain falling, the party started on their way again, leaving Flannigan and Hannan behind. By chance Flannigan found some nuggets and induced Hannan to remain with him; in a few days they picked up 100 ounces, and one of the men went back to Coolgardie and applied for a reward claim. A rush immediately set in, and in a few days fully 500 men were on the ground. A large amount of alluvial gold was won and many reefs discovered.

Siberia was discovered by Messrs. Frost and Bonner in October, 1893, and in the stampede which

ensued to the new finds, after the discoverers had applied for the reward claim, several lives were lost from heat and thirst. Many started out on the long trip so ill provided with food and water, that they would undoubtedly have perished, had it not been for the succour received from parties subsequently despatched for their relief.

Bulong (I.O.U.) was discovered in May by two hitherto unsuccessful prospectors, who were thinking of returning to Perth. One of them pointed out a gully near by where he had previously found colours; proceeding to the spot, in a short time they unearthed, among others, a seventy-ounce nugget. Within a week the gully was pegged out from end to end, and over 500 miners were at work.

The Londonderry find was made in June by a prospecting party, consisting of Messrs. Carter, Dawson, Mills, Gardiner, Elliott and Huxley, who had been out many months without finding gold, and were on their way back to Coolgardie; quite by accident rich quartz was picked up by two of the party, and after a brief search the outcrop of a reef was exposed, from which, during the first three or four days, they took out between 4,000 and 5,000 ounces. One specimen, "Big Ben," was estimated to contain gold to the value of £3,500 or more. On the 23rd June they applied for the reward claim and deposited in the Bank at Coolgardie 4,280 ounces of gold.

The Wealth of Nations was discovered in July by Mr. J. G. Dunn, an old prospector, representing a syndicate of well-known West Australians. When only twenty-eight miles from Coolgardie, he found the outcropping of the reef. Upon breaking into the cap, the quartz appeared to be glittering with gold;

one of the first pieces taken out contained fully 800 ounces. In a few days he secured gold to the value of over £20,000. In an incredibly short time after the lease was applied for, hundreds of men were upon the spot and several rich finds were made, two nuggets being secured, weighing respectively 197 ounces and 147 ounces.

Many other wonderful discoveries were made, and in 1898, so far as the production of gold is concerned, Western Australia took first place amongst the Australian colonies. The phenomenal increase in its production is shown by the following comparison :

Year.	oz.	Year.	oz.
1891.....	30,311	1896.....	281,265
1892.....	59,548	1897.....	674,994
1893.....	110,890	1898.....	1,050,184
1894.....	207,130	1899.....	1,643,877
1895.....	231,513		

The effect of the gold discoveries in bringing people to the colony has already been illustrated by the table showing movement of population; the great inflow was, of course, since 1890. The following additional figures will show how small was the growth of population until the stimulus of the gold fever was applied to it.

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1860.....	15,227	1890.....	46,290
1870.....	25,084	1895.....	101,235
1880.....	29,019	1899.....	171,030

In the thirty years elapsing from 1860 to 1890 the number added to the population was only 31,063, while in the next nine years the addition was 124,-

740. Another excellent index of the progress of the colony is furnished by the trade returns. The imports and exports at ten years' intervals from 1861 were:

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1861.....	147,913	95,789
1871.....	226,656	209,196
1881.....	404,831	502,770
1891.....	1,280,093	799,466
1898.....	5,241,965	4,960,006

The combined trade of the last year amounts to £10,210,971, equal to £61, 16s. 5d. per head, a prodigious figure scarcely to be paralleled in the commerce of the world.

The future of Western Australia, as far as it is possible to foresee, is primarily dependent upon the permanence of its gold. The present annual output is about seven millions sterling. The mines in several localities, notably at Kalgoorlie, have every appearance of permanence, still the depth which they have reached (about 1,100 feet) is not sufficient to justify the final expression of a positive opinion. The history of mining in all parts of the world furnishes repeated warnings against definite statements being made with regard to the future of gold-mining, still it is difficult not to believe that Western Australia, possessing as it does, a gold-bearing belt extending right across the continent, will furnish not only permanent mines, but many new fields and produce great quantities of gold for a very considerable period.

The timber resources are very considerable and should prove a source of permanent wealth under judicious management.

The agricultural resources compared with the

eastern colonies are limited. A very short distance inland from the coast the rainfall becomes too small to permit farming operations being engaged in with reasonable security, and although in some favoured localities the soil is sufficiently good to give a reasonable return to the farmer, still even here there are vast areas of almost valueless land.

The rainfall in the southern portion of the colony militates against any very extensive operations in connection with pastoral enterprise; towards the north, however, better conditions in many instances prevail.

The area in which coal has been discovered in Western Australia is somewhat limited in extent, and the coal is of inferior quality. Although it may be used for manufacturing or household purposes, and in the locomotives of the State railways with fair success, coal mining in Western Australia is an industry which requires all the aid the State can give it, and the advantage of the freight charged on the coal from the eastern seaboard, to hold its own against the Newcastle and Illawarra deposits. It appears tolerably certain that the coal in Western Australia will not play a very important part in the development of that colony.

Politically Western Australia has been very much agitated on the question of Federation. The Uitlanders or "T'other siders," as the recent arrivals are locally called, are a majority of the population. They were almost to a man in favour of Australian Union. A considerable number of the older residents desired isolation, fearing the effect upon their products of Free-trade between the colonies. The former class, however, were in so great a majority that their weight was very speedily felt. It was gen-

erally conceded that if the Bill under which the eastern colonies were federating had been submitted to the people of Western Australia, it would have been carried by an overwhelming majority.

CHAPTER XXX.

EXPLORATIONS.

THE Registrar-General of Western Australia in his Year Book of that colony, which he has given the author liberty to draw upon for information, prefacing his account of the exploration of his colony with a very apt quotation from the Rev. J. E. Tenison Woods, S.J.: "Since the time of its first foundation, Western Australia has never given up the subject of exploration. Unlike the other colonies, which have always gone into the matter by fits and starts, there have been always continuous expeditions from Perth. . . . The first of the colonies to wake up again to the importance of examining the interior was, as usual, the indefatigable colony of Western Australia." These words are in every respect true, for the work of exploring in Western Australia began almost on the landing of the first settlers and has never been allowed to flag. The official year book records nine expeditions during 1830, and of these the most important was that led by Mr. R. Dale, who discovered the Avon River, and explored the country round it as far as the site of the present town of York. He travelled eastward as far as Mount Caroline. In 1831 some moderately good pastoral and agricultural country was discovered by Captain Bannister, who made an overland journey from Perth to King George's Sound. This expedition made no other important discoveries, but the

track followed by Captain Bannister at once became the recognised route between the two settlements. This was followed by much good work by explorers and surveyors, but no large expedition took the field for some little time, as the discoveries already made required all the attention of the colonists.

In 1837 an expedition, under Captain George Grey and Lieutenant Lushington, was sent out from England to investigate the truth of the report as to the existence of a large river on the N.W. coast, flowing into the sea near Dampier's Archipelago. From 2nd December of that year to 21st April, 1838, they explored the Hanover Bay district, discovering the Glenelg River. During January, 1839, while occupied in searching for a settler named Mr. George Eliot, who had been lost in the bush for three weeks, but who eventually found his way to Port Augusta, Grey thoroughly explored the country between the Williams and Leschenault. From 17th February to 21st April, 1839, Grey explored the country between Shark Bay and Perth, finding excellent country for mineral, pastoral and agricultural purposes, and discovered and named many rivers on the coast north of Perth, such as the Gascoyne, Murchison, Irwin and Arrowsmith. Having lost the boats which had been previously used, his party was compelled to return on foot to Perth, a distance of some hundreds of miles. A few of them, who were too exhausted to push on as far as the capital, were happily rescued by Mr. J. S. Roe, who, as soon as intelligence of their position had been received, had undertaken an expedition from Perth for that purpose. Although Grey's journey had been on the whole an unfortunate one, he was able to give a glowing account of the country through which

he passed, and his report was later on endorsed by Mr. George Fletcher Moore, whom the authorities sent out to examine the coastal districts.

Attention was most directed to the North-West coasts and important coastal surveys were successfully made by Captains Wickham and Stokes during the years 1838 to 1841. Sailing in H.M.S. *Beagle*, they discovered and named King's Sound and the Fitzroy River.

In 1841, from the 31st January to 27th July, a journey, which ranks amongst the greatest feats of human endurance, was accomplished by Mr. Edward John Eyre. In an attempt, begun in the previous year, to cross overland from Adelaide to Western Australia, this explorer had been foiled, chiefly by want of water. Having sent back the majority of his party, he started from Fowler's Bay, South Australia, with one companion, Baxter, and a black boy named Wylie, to reach King George's Sound or perish in the undertaking. A short distance south-west of Eyre's Patch (126° east longitude), two natives, who were accompanying them, murdered Baxter at night, and stole the greater part of the provisions. Eyre and his black boy were left to accomplish a journey of some hundreds of miles through an unknown country with forty pounds of flour and four gallons of water. This they succeeded in doing after undergoing the severest hardships. This journey of Eyre's, being the first successful attempt to cross from South Australia to the new colony in the west, was of considerable geographical importance. It may be mentioned here that this enterprise would probably have never been concluded but for their happily meeting with Captain Rossiter, of the French whaler *Mississippi*, who

rendered them every assistance and kindness when reduced to their last extremity of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. This providential encounter occurred some three weeks' march from Albany.

In the same year (1841) large Jarrah and Karri forests were discovered by Mr. William Nairne Clarke, who journeyed in a whale-boat from Albany to Deep River, Nornalup Inlet, and Point D'Entre-casteaux.

In 1842 Mr. H. Landor made the discovery of excellent and extensive grazing country to the south-east of Beverley. So far the colonists had only found good country in the narrow fringe of country skirting the coast. Beyond that was the desert, and effort after effort was made to pass through this desert and reach the fertile country which it was hoped would lie beyond.

In 1843 a small private party, consisting of Messrs. Landor and Lefroy, made a short excursion from York, and were absent for about a fortnight. They found no large extent of favourable country, nor did they reach the great inland sea of which the natives had persistently spoken; they found, however, several shallow depressions, most of them with salt water lying in them, which geographers have dignified with the name of lakes.

Two expeditions were promoted by Governor Hutt during his term of office, in one of which he personally took part, viz., from Fremantle to Australind in company with Captain Stokes and Mr. J. S. Roe. The second was under the command of Lieutenant Helpman on board the colonial steamer *Champion*, and was subsequent to the expedition of Gregory in 1846. Lieutenant Helpman, who was accompanied by one of the Gregorys, landed at Champion Bay,

and thence travelled to the River Arrowsmith, where they examined the coal seam and brought back a load of the coal.

In 1846 Mr. A. C. Gregory, with his brothers Messrs. Frank T. and Charles Gregory, set out from Bolgart Springs in search of good pastoral country. After examining the hills forming the watershed of the coastal rivers, they turned westward and traced the headwaters of some of the streams discovered by Grey in 1839. At the head of the Arrowsmith they found several seams of coal. In 1848 Mr. A. C. Gregory examined the Murchison district, and in December of the same year the Governor, Captain Fitzgerald, accompanied him to the district to inspect the mine working the outcrop of galena which he had discovered during his previous journey.

On the 14th September, 1848, Mr. J. S. Roe, sometimes called "the father of Australian explorers," commenced his celebrated journey, in the course of which he explored 1,800 miles of the colony. He was accompanied by Mr. A. C. Gregory and five others with twelve horses and provisions for three months. They suffered very great privations, on one occasion being without water for three days. They returned to Perth in February of the following year, and they reported that they could find no country to the eastward which was fit for occupation. They added much to the knowledge possessed of the country, and were able to report that extensive coal-fields existed at the Fitzgerald River.

Mr. R. Austin, the Assistant Surveyor, was sent out in charge of an exploring party in 1854, the discovery of gold being the chief, and of good pastoral and agricultural land the secondary object of the expedition, which set out from Mombekine, near

Northam, on the 10th July, and travelled in a north-easterly direction over a great extent of salt marsh country, discovering several mountains and salt lakes. Unfortunately no less than fourteen of their horses died from the effects of eating the poisonous box-plant, and Austin was forced to make for Shark's Bay, to which place a brig had been despatched to render the party any assistance they needed. Having lost their horses, they were obliged to abandon much of their provisions and suffered untold hardships in their journey to the sea. To the heroism of the leader was due the fact that so many of the party succeeded in reaching the settlement, after suffering privations which had daily thinned their ranks, and which might have caused a leader less courageous to have given way to despair.

Austin described the belt of country round Mounts Kenneth and Magnet, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Austin, as probably "one of the finest gold-fields in the world." Events have justified this opinion, for in the last few years gold to the value of a million sterling has been obtained from this district.

The Denison Plains to the south of the Kimberley gold-fields were discovered in 1856 by Mr. A. C. Gregory, and in the following year Mr. F. T. Gregory completed the survey of the Murchison River.

Mr. F. T. Gregory was successful in finding some good pastoral land in the Gascoyne district, in 1858. This discovery gave a much-needed impetus to settlement in the colony. Gregory started from the Geraldine and followed the course of the Murchison to Mount Gould. He then struck the headwaters of the Gascoyne and traced its course to Shark's Bay. The success of this expedition led to others being

fitted out, and in 1861 Mr. F. T. Gregory again set forth. This time the undertaking was organised by the Imperial as well as by the Colonial Government, and was also aided by private subscription. Having safely landed their horses and provisions at Nickol Bay, the party successfully explored the country round the headwaters of the Ashburton, Fortescue, De Grey, and Oakover Rivers, and good pastoral country was reported. The members of the expedition suffered severely in their efforts to penetrate the desert sand ridges of the coast, but were well repaid by the splendid results of their heroic enterprise.

About the year 1860 it became evident that the discovery of new pasture lands was essential to the progress of the colony. The vast tracts of country lying to the east and north of the sparse coastal settlements were as yet absolutely unknown; and most of the good land within reach of these settlements was either occupied or unavailable. The colonists, therefore, set themselves strenuously to spy out the land and ascertain its resources. The result of their efforts, extending over nearly half a century, has been that numerous expeditions have crossed and recrossed the immense territory which stretches from Shark Bay to the boundaries of South Australia. A great portion of this has been proved to be desert, apparently worthless; but some grass country has also been discovered, and utilised for pastoral purposes. Of late years, too, the discovery of gold has led to many encroachments upon the desert itself.

In July, 1861, and again in June, 1865, E. A. De lisser, a squatter, explored the south-east corner of the colony. Entering from Fowler's Bay in South Australia he discovered rich grass lands which have

since been occupied, and have proved excellent pasture.

During July and August of 1861 Messrs. B. D. Clarkson, C. E. and A. Dempster and C. Harper explored the country east of Northam. They made their furthest point at Georgina's Range, having traversed a great portion of what is now known as the Yilgarn Gold-field; the chief result of their journey was that they proved that it was possible to pass with safety through the dense scrub and salt lake country hitherto deemed impassable.

Mr. Henry Maxwell Lefroy headed an expedition in 1863. His purpose was to test the district east of York, with the object of discovering suitable land for sheep-farming. He crossed over a large portion of the present Coolgardie Gold-fields and was able to report the existence of good agricultural land, but owing to the scarcity of water no settlement was then made.

In the following year Mr. C. C. Hunt, leaving York on the 10th July, passed over the present site of Coolgardie and travelled 400 miles east of his starting point, when he was compelled to return to the neighbourhood of Lake Lefroy. The result of his journey was disappointing, as this and preceding journeys seemed to confirm the general opinion that agricultural or pastoral settlement was impossible outside the coastal fringe. In the year 1865 Travarton C. Sholl explored the country to the south of Camden Harbour. He inspected the Glenelg Basin, ascended and named Mt. Page (now Mt. Humbert), and having discovered the Berkelman River, he crossed the Leopold Ranges and found a large tract of good pastoral country.

Early in the next year Assistant Surveyor James

Cowle, having explored the country between Roebuck Bay and Port Walcott, reported the discovery of a considerable area of land fit for grazing purposes.

In the same year Mr. E. T. Hooley, who in 1864 had made an unsuccessful attempt to find a practicable stock route between Champion Bay and the Gaseoyne, journeyed in safety from Champion Bay to Port Walcott and back.

The practically unknown country lying round the headwaters of the Harding, Ashburton, Sherlock, and Fortescue Rivers was opened up for settlement by the explorations of Mr. R. J. Sholl and his son Mr. Travarton C. Sholl during the year 1866. In 1869 Mr. Forrest (now Sir John Forrest, P.C.) began that memorable series of explorations which has proved so important to the colony. His first expedition was unsuccessful as regards its main object, viz., the discovery of traces of Leichhardt, for the fate of that explorer still remains a mystery, but Mr. Forrest succeeded in penetrating to a considerable distance beyond Mt. Margaret, reaching latitude $28^{\circ} 41'$ south and longitude $122^{\circ} 50'$ east. The following year the same explorer with his brother made his memorable journey from Perth to Adelaide via Eucla. Mr. Forrest completed in five months an expedition which had taken Eyre a year to accomplish. The explorers on leaving Perth travelled in safety to Esperance Bay, where a schooner, the *Adur*, met them with supplies. They still kept near the coast till they reached Israelite Bay, a distance from Esperance Bay of nearly 130 miles. Leaving the coast they made for longitude $126^{\circ} 24'$, where Eyre had noted a water supply. Thence Forrest made an excursion northward and found good grazing land but no permanent water. Leaving the oasis, they

succeeded in reaching Eucla in safety, but suffered greatly *en route* from thirst. At Eucla they were again provisioned by the schooner, and Forrest made a short excursion inland and discovered that the interior, which had been considered a sandy desert, was in reality sometimes beautifully grassed, and though there seemed to be no surface water, yet in many places it was procurable at moderate depth.

From Eucla Forrest travelled through South Australian territory to Adelaide, which he reached on the 27th August, 1870, having set out from Perth on the 30th of March. His report of the Western Australian country was more satisfactory than that of Eyre, who had declared it to be practically waterless and little better than a desert.

In 1871 Mr. A. Forrest went out 600 miles in search of new pastoral country. Having reached latitude 31° south and longitude $123^{\circ} 37'$ east, his party were compelled to make for the coast. Their course led them to Mt. Ragged, and having discovered a tract of good country which has since been occupied, they returned to Perth via Esperance Bay.

Two attempts were made in 1873 to travel from South Australia overland to Perth. The first of these, led by Mr. William Christie Gosse, Deputy Surveyor-General of South Australia, was unsuccessful. Travelling from Alice Springs he entered Western Australia, near the Tomkinson Mountains, and obtained some knowledge of the country in the vicinity; he then explored the Cavenagh and Barrow Ranges, but owing to the arid nature of the country, Gosse found it impossible to penetrate further and returned to his starting point.

The second and more successful attempt was made by Major Peter Egerton Warburton, who journeyed

from the Macdonnell Ranges in South Australia to the headwaters of the Oakover River. Little was learnt from this expedition, for the members of it were so occupied with their own hardships, that they were unable to make accurate observations of the country through which they passed. The opinion given was that the country was a sterile one in which horses could not possibly exist, and that there were no permanent watercourses. This was the first expedition which was provided with camels. It should have attained more important results; but owing to constant delays provisions fell short, sickness broke out, and Warburton was forced to push through as rapidly as possible, and by travelling by night he succeeded in safely reaching his destination. Warburton on this journey discovered the Johanna Springs, lately invested with a melancholy interest, as the appointed rendezvous which the ill-fated Wells and Jones of the Calvert Expedition failed to reach.

Again in 1874 Mr. John Forrest and his brother Alexander set out from Perth. Their official instructions were "to obtain information concerning the immense tract of country from which flow the Murchison, Gascoyne, Ashburton, De Grey, Fitzroy and other rivers falling into the sea on the western and northern shores of the colony." Part of their plan also was to ascertain the nature of the interior of the colony, and whether a practicable route to the advanced settlements in South Australia could be discovered. Going northward to Yuin they then followed the Murchison as far as the Robinson Range, thence south-east to Mounts Bartle and Russell and north-east by the Kimberley and Frere Ranges till they reached the Weld Springs, where they found an unlimited supply of clear fresh water. So far much

of the land had proved good, and well adapted for grazing purposes, but as soon as they left Weld Springs they encountered a succession of waterless stretches of spinifex country. Happily for the fate of the expedition, timely discoveries of small fresh water supplies were made—notably at Alexander Spring. The expedition reached a point within one hundred miles of Gosse's furthest west, and, under ordinary conditions, might have hoped to have reached known country in a few days; but so great was the dearth of water that, but for the foresight and perseverance of their leader, the expedition would certainly have been compelled to return on their own tracks. Pushing forward through more spinifex country and crossing several rocky ranges, they arrived at Barlee Springs. They made a halt at Fort Müller, one of the explorer Giles' depots. During the rest of the journey to the known country at the Peake Telegraph Station, similar difficulties were encountered. This journey of John Forrest was one of the most noteworthy made in the cause of Australian exploration, and though both Gosse and Warburton were better equipped than Forrest, yet his expedition proved of much greater value; for he was able to give a full and true account of the country through which he passed. Whilst agreeing with all previous explorers as to the impossibility of settlement in the spinifex country, he was nevertheless most hopeful as to the possibilities of the Murchison district, beyond the country already occupied.

While Forrest, Warburton and Gosse were engaged on these expeditions the well-known and experienced explorer Giles made three attempts to cross from Adelaide to Perth, and so to examine the supposed desert of Central Australia. The first attempts were

unsuccessful, but the third ranks next to Forrest's as the most successful expedition ever made for opening up the interior of Western Australia. Giles succeeded in reaching Perth and returned overland via the Murchison to Adelaide, completing the circuit in about twelve months. The success of this journey was due in a great measure to the generosity of Sir Thomas Elder, who provided the expedition with camels; and the superiority of these animals over horses for desert travelling was so amply demonstrated that their employment for similar work was thereafter invariably adopted. It was on the 23rd of May, 1875, that Giles set out on his third journey. For the first three months his way lay through comparatively easy country, and in August he reached Boundary Dam in Western Australia. Thence he took a course through the Great Victoria Desert for some hundreds of miles, and he and his whole party underwent all the hardships attendant on desert travelling, till, after a waterless stage of 325 miles, they arrived almost exhausted at Queen Victoria Springs. Resting a short time there the party presently made their way to Ularring, where a supply of water was obtained, their course having led them north-east of the present Coolgardie. Still travelling westward they reached Mt. Churchman and later on Tootra, near Lake Moore, an out-station of Messrs. Clunes. On the 18th November they arrived at Perth, having travelled 2,575 miles in about five months. The practical results of this journey were not great, yet every credit must be given to the explorer who, in the face of so many difficulties, succeeded in accomplishing his object. A few weeks sufficed for rest and re-equipment, and, on the 13th June, 1876, Giles and his party commenced the re-

turn journey, the first stage being to Northampton via Geraldton. Resuming their journey they entered the Gibson Desert on the 1st June. It was part of Giles' plan to discover how far west this terrible desert extended. While traversing it they suffered intensely from want of water, going 230 miles without finding any. Reaching the Alfred and Marie Ranges they found themselves once more in familiar country, and shortly after the Rawlinson Mountains came in sight.

On the 23rd August the Peake Station in South Australia was reached. Giles, having completed his tour after suffering the most severe hardships, was able to give an accurate account of the greater part of the interior of Western Australia. He fully concurred with those who considered the country as totally unfit for settlement.

A trip undertaken by Mr. Alexander Forrest in 1879 proved a most successful one, as he found some of the most valuable country in Western Australia. His course was generally from the De Grey River to Daly Waters Station on the Adelaide—Port Darwin Telegraph line. The Fitzroy and Margaret Rivers were followed for some distance; the former proved deep and rapid, and in the vicinity of the latter the well-watered Nicholson Plains were discovered. These plains Forrest considered the finest part of Western Australia he had seen. Much of the country he traversed has since been well stocked with sheep and cattle, and holds out the promise of much mineral wealth.

In 1883 Mr. John Forrest again took out an exploring party. This time he was accompanied by a body of surveyors, who did good work surveying the country around the Fitzroy, Margaret, May, Len-

nard, and Richenda Rivers. Mr. E. T. Hardman, who also accompanied the party as geologist, made a complete study of the country, sufficient to enable him to prepare a valuable geological map. The explorers landed at Roebuck Bay, examined a large portion of the Kimberley district, and proceeded by La Grange Bay to the Fitzroy River, and found that the country as far as St. George's Range consisted of rich grassy plains well watered. The Ord River Plains proved exceptionally rich, consisting of fertile alluvium covered with luxuriant grass.

In 1884 Mr. H. Stockdale, an experienced bushman, led an expedition from Cambridge Gulf to explore the country lying to the southward. He succeeded in finding very good pastoral country, but was reluctantly compelled to abandon two of his party, whose ultimate fate has not been discovered.

In 1884 Mr. E. T. Hardman again accompanied an exploring and surveying party. They surveyed the country from Mt. Pierre on the Fitzroy to the junction of the Negri and Ord Rivers. The Mary and Elvira Rivers were discovered and named, and the present Kimberley gold-fields were favourably reported on. In 1885 Mr. H. F. Johnston, who had led the previous expedition, again set out. This time he travelled to Cambridge Gulf. The expedition was able to map out the course of the Ord River and traced the Bow, Fraser and Belin Rivers.

In 1889-90 Mr. Ernest Favencé, the well-known Queensland explorer and historian, explored the headwaters of the Gascoyne and Ashburton Rivers. He reported rich pastoral country, and what was more important still, he discovered the Cunningham,

Jackson and James Rivers, all important tributaries of the Ashburton.

The hitherto unknown country north and west of Lake Amadeus was in 1889 explored by Mr. W. H. Tietkens, who discovered and named the Kintore, 1,500 feet high, and the Bonython Range. It is a strange circumstance connected with the exploration, that although the party traversed sixty miles of country supposed to be contained in the area of Lake Amadeus, yet they saw nothing of the lake.

Sir Thomas Elder, whose generosity in regard to matters of exploration has already been mentioned, again equipped an expedition, the object of which was to complete the exploration of Australia, and especially of Western Australia; efforts were also to be made to discover traces of Gibson, the ill-fated explorer who had perished some seventeen years previously. Leaving Fort Müller, they obtained water at Mount Squires and made for Queen Victoria Springs. Here they found the springs dried up and were compelled to alter their plans and make a hasty journey to Fraser's Range; when about half-way to the range some good but extremely dry country was passed. After resting at Fraser's Range, they made an attempt to examine some parts of the desert they had just crossed, but were again baffled by the waterless condition of the country. Ultimately they reached the Murchison. On the 1st January, after a journey of eight months' duration, during which numberless perils were encountered, they arrived at their destination. Mr. Lindsay, the leader of the party, returned to Adelaide, but one of his companions, Mr. L. A. Wells, made an expedition, starting from the depot at Welbundinum. He travelled over 800 miles, and made discoveries

of good pastoral land and some gold-bearing country, but lack of water was here again the chief characteristic of the country.

It was not till 1896 that any further work of importance was done. In this year an expedition promoted by Mr. A. F. Calvert, under the leadership of Mr. L. A. Wells, set out from Lake Way to explore the country between the East Murchison and Fitzroy Rivers. A depot was formed in latitude $25^{\circ} 54'$ south, longitude $122^{\circ} 20'$ east, in the midst of fair country provided with excellent waterholes. From here an excursion was made north-east through Mt. Bates, when, after a dry stage of 200 miles, water was found in latitude $23^{\circ} 23'$ south and longitude 124° east. After resting here, they returned to the depot by the route followed by Giles in 1876. Travelling again from the depot, the whole party reached Separation Well. Here two of the explorers left their leader in order to examine the country to the west-north-west. They were to meet the main party some thirty miles south of Johanna Springs. They proceeded some distance, but found it impossible to continue, owing to the heavy nature of the country. Retracing their steps, they found the tracks of the expedition, and followed them for some time, but perished from thirst before coming up with their party. Some months after their bodies were discovered by Wells, and their journal disclosed the sad mischance that had befallen them.

From Separation Well the expedition proceeded to Johanna Springs, and thence to the Fitzroy River, which they met a little to the north of Mt. Tuckfield. The country through which they passed, especially the last 300 miles, was of the usual spinifex and sand ridge variety. The lack of water and camel

feed cost them five beasts and the remaining number were saved only with great difficulty.

The Western Australian Government used every effort to discover the fate of Wells' companions, Messrs. C. F. Wells and G. Lindsay Jones, who had been lost during the expedition and whose fate was yet unknown. On the 19th December, just two months after their disappearance, Mr. W. F. Rudall headed a search party which, leaving Braeside on the Oakover River, followed up that stream and its tributary the Davis. At Christmas Pool they met some natives who guided them to a deserted camp, where some footsteps supposed to be those of the missing men were discernible. Nothing more was discovered, and the camels failing him, Mr. Rudall had to retrace his steps with all speed. Nothing daunted, he set out again, but met with no success. He made two other attempts, but no traces of the missing men were found, though in the third trip the bodies of two white men, who had evidently been murdered by natives, were discovered. It was proved that these were not the men searched for. In his journeys Rudall travelled over an area of 23,000 miles, and though not successful in his main object, yet he gained a great deal of valuable knowledge of the physical features of much country hitherto unknown. In the same year (1896), Mr. A. Mason, a Government officer, explored the country lying between Kurnalpi and Eucla. Both Sir J. Forrest and Captain Delisser had previously reported fine pastoral and agricultural land in this district.

The South Australian Government sent out an expedition under Hübbe about the same time. Its object was to open up a stock route between Oodnadatta and Coolgardie. Hübbe followed Forrest's

1874 route, through Barlee Springs to Mt. Allott. Thence he travelled to Lake Wells by way of the Ernest Giles' Range. A good supply of water was obtained at Mackenzie's Well, and the remainder of the journey to Menzies and Coolgardie was through fairly well known country. The return journey was made via Eucla. Near the South Australian border some good country was found, but for the rest the country was as usual, dry and covered with spinifex. The Hon. David Carnegie equipped and led an exploring party in search of gold-bearing or pastoral country in the great desert which lies between latitudes 19° and 28° south and longitudes 122° and 129° east, which had hitherto only been crossed from east to west.

Leaving Doyle's Well about fifty miles south of Lake Darlöt, they travelled to Alexander Spring, which was found to be dry. Fortunately a soaking was found some forty-five miles from the springs where they obtained water. The country was a continuous stretch of low sand-hills, with here and there some bloodwood trees and poor shrubs on which the camels fed. One man, Mr. Chas. Stansmore, lost his life during this journey, being accidentally shot. On the 6th December Carnegie arrived at Hall's Creek, where he rested for some months. Hearing of the Calvert Expedition disaster, Carnegie offered to lead a search party, but relief expeditions had already been started, so Carnegie remained where he was till the beginning of April, 1897. The return journey to Coolgardie, via Alexander Springs and Lake Darlöt, was uneventful and little auriferous country was found. Altogether the expedition travelled 3,000 miles in eight months and proved the impossibility of opening up a stock route between

Kimberley and the North Coolgardie fields. The only permanent water found on the journey outward was at Helena Spring in latitude $21^{\circ} 20'$ south.

A gold prospecting party headed by Mr. Hugh Russell went out in May, 1897. The country round the Barrow, Warburton and Cavenagh Ranges was well examined. The explorers went as far as Mt. Squires, but little of importance was learnt, the country passed through showing the same absence of water which marks so large a portion of the great western colony.

PART EIGHT. INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER XXXI.

FIRST INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1788-1821.

OF the great industries now carried on in Australasia only wheat and maize farming, wool growing and coal mining date from the beginning of settlement; and if these be excepted the principal industries which now exist are of comparatively recent growth. Some industries, such as whaling, which manifested early promise, have died out or fallen into neglect, a result due as much as anything to the discovery of gold in 1851, for there were few who willingly followed the humdrum pursuits of trade as long as the allurements of the gold-fields lasted. When the precious metal ceased to be won in large quantities and the population had perforce to return to less exciting and perhaps more remunerative pursuits, it was almost too late to revive many industries that had been abandoned. Interesting, therefore, as it is to look back upon the industrial life of the colonies in the early years of settlement, comparisons with the present day have little or no value, as the conditions under which industries were carried on in the early period were essentially different from those that now obtain. In nearly every respect

the record of the industrial life of Australia has been one of continuous progress, and there has been a steady advance in the condition of the workers, especially of those who may be classed as wage-earners.

The industrial history of Australia is naturally divided into six completed periods, and the present period, which was entered upon in 1893; but, as may be inferred from the nature of the case, except in regard to that represented by the gold rush, no sharp line of division between one industrial period and another can be drawn.

The first period embraces the interval between the foundation of the settlement and the departure of Macquarie; that is to say, to 1821. Intended as it was for a mere penal settlement, there was little room in the colony for the operation of industrial forces, and it was long before the authorities would recognise that the labourer had any rights beyond that to mere subsistence. This was perhaps inevitable in a place where the great majority of the labourers were either prisoners or persons who had been prisoners; but the same ideas dominated the policy of the ruling powers long after the free population became an important factor in the industrial life of the colony.

Throughout this period, and, indeed, until a much later time, the spirit of the Government was that of paternal interference in every concern of social life. For the individual, especially the labourer, everything was regulated. The Governor fixed the price and determined the quality of the provisions consumed in the settlement; he made grants of land, and, in order to beautify his metropolis, required those who received grants within its boundaries to build substantial and handsome houses thereon; he

erected markets, and framed bye-laws for their governance; he served out lands, cattle and provisions to his subjects like a tradesman purveying general merchandise; he adjusted tolls, ferry dues, and wharfage fees, and gave an eye to municipal matters. Moreover, he gathered together the orphans in the colony, and supported them out of the proceeds of the duties and customs collected at the port. To the labourer he strove to ensure a fixed daily wage; from the labourer he sought to exact an unvarying amount as the price of his loaf or of his pound of meat. This was not only possible, but seemed entirely at one with the ideas of the times, as the colonist, properly so called, was looked upon as an intruder whose presence, though distasteful to the authorities, could not altogether be avoided.

During the whole period the Government was the main employer of labour; indeed, in the earliest years there was no other. Amongst individuals, the military officers were the first to seek labour, and to them were made over a number of prisoners, by whose aid a large area of country was cleared and cultivated. At first the Government supplied assigned labourers with clothing and food; but this was soon altered, and the expense of maintaining them was borne by their employers; indeed, this relief of the public stores was the chief consideration which induced the authorities to introduce the principle of assignment. As years went on, an increasing number of men whose sentences had expired became available for ordinary employment, and these, with the soldiers who preferred to remain in the colony, retired officers, civilians in the employ of the Government, and, lastly, the few free immigrants who had made their way to the settlement, formed the indus-

trial population. For a considerable period the free population was not large, and there was no need to make special provision in the laws in regard to them; but as the free element grew in importance, the Governor found it necessary to issue laws for the purpose of regulating the relations between employers and the free employed.

These laws were all conceived in the spirit of the primal curse, which designated work a punishment, the life of man a warfare, and his time here below a probation to be spent in weariness and sorrow. The general orders issued during the first thirty years were sufficiently harsh and callous, even when their provisions were framed with especial reference to the bond population, but they were scarcely more considerate when they sought to regulate the conditions governing the operations of free labour. The hours of toil were established on no tender scale. A day's work for stacking and carrying grain was fixed at from five o'clock in the morning until seven o'clock at night, less three hours for food and rest. The wages to be paid for various classes of labour were also arbitrarily determined. Should a labourer take or demand more than the specified rates, or refuse to work for such wages, he was to be set in the stocks for two days and one night for the first offence, and for a second or continued refusal he was to undergo a penalty of three months' hard labour. No person was allowed to take work unless he could, if a freeman, produce his certificate, or, if a bondman, his ticket-of-leave. For the infringement of this regulation the penalty inflicted on the employer was a fine of £5, and two shillings and sixpence for each day on which a free labourer was employed, with more than double this fine in the case of the

employment of a bondman; and for paying more than the fixed rates he was liable to be imprisoned for ten days, in addition to the fine. The harbouring of a runaway apprentice involved a penalty of six months' hard labour to a free man, and of one hundred lashes, with other punishment, if the offender were a prisoner. As the framer of the laws, the Governor had always before him the fact that the employer was often little better than the labourer he employed, both, as a rule, belonging to the emancipist class, and both, therefore, in view of their common origin, deserving of somewhat similar punishment for breaches of the labour regulations, irrespective of the accident of the possession of property in the one case, and the want of it in the other.

The lot of the free labourer, even though he generally was an emancipated convict, was very severe. Long were his hours of labour; and his pay was by no means commensurate with his day's toil. Agricultural labourers were paid (four pounds) £4 for clearing and hoeing an acre of ground; timber-getters, for sawing one hundred feet, seven shillings, and for splitting one hundred feet, one shilling and sixpence to two shillings. In 1796 the sum paid for making a pair of boots was three shillings and sixpence; for a coat, six shillings; and for a gown, five shillings; carpenters received five shillings, and field labourers three shillings a day, without rations, and these were considered high wages. In 1814 a general order fixed the price for felling forest timber at ten shillings per acre, and burning off at twenty-five shillings per acre; cutting down weeds and brush and burning off at ten shillings per acre, and a splitter's daily remuneration at two shillings and

sixpence. Three years later the price given for felling forest timber was reduced, by an official regulation, to eight shillings per acre, burning off to £1 per acre, and other work in like proportion.

In addition to the men wholly assigned to masters, there was another class of labour available. The prisoners who were not assigned were employed by the Government; but as their day closed at three o'clock, it was permissible for them to engage themselves for the remainder of the day to a private employer. A man was, therefore, free to work for himself after the hour mentioned, and all that he could earn "on his own hands" became his personal property. By general order, a prisoner's remuneration after hours was fixed at one shilling per day; but it is probable that skilled men, when they chose to work, found the inducement more profitable than was contemplated. In some respects, therefore, the lot of the prisoner was better than that of the free labourer, who was compelled to clothe and feed himself. In those early days of paucity of labour, it was also customary to permit the soldiers to engage themselves during the harvest months, and a general order limited the remuneration to be given to each man to fifteen shillings currency per week, or one bushel of wheat per acre harvested, at the worker's option. A master transgressing this order was punished by fine; and in the event of any soldier demanding more than the regulation amount, he could be summoned before the nearest magistrate to answer for his conduct.

This regulation of prices by law was strictly in accordance with the ideas of the times, the object aimed at being to ensure the settlers a supply of

cheap labour, and incidentally to protect the labourer against fraud on the part of the master. Its principal effect was to prevent the worker from recovering in the courts a greater price for his labour than was stipulated in the schedule, whereas when it became the interest of his employer to give better terms he would do so. The rates published by the Governor referred only to the various kinds of labour pertaining to agriculture and the allied pursuits; the wages of artificers, particularly of such as were most useful in a young community, being much higher.

Transportation from England and Ireland was maintained during the whole of this period, and reached very large proportions about the year 1817, in response to Macquarie's demand for labour to carry on the agriculture of the country and to complete the numerous public works inaugurated during his term of office. Voluntary immigration almost entirely ceased with the increase in transportation; indeed, it was in many ways discouraged, the British Government going so far as to prohibit any person from proceeding to the colony, who could not prove that he was possessed of sufficient property to enable him to establish himself on his arrival there.

Wages were paid partly in money and partly in kind. The latter at first comprised an allowance of salt beef, maize, and split peas; but the character and quantity of provisions issued were subject to considerable modification, according to the condition of the stores, and especially during times of scarcity. Such measures were, fortunately, not often necessary; but the occurrence of periods of want, if not of absolute famine, had to be anticipated in a colony depend-

ent for its support exclusively on importations, in days when ships visited the settlement only at long intervals, and prospects of trading had not yet been made manifest. The fact that supplies were not sooner obtained from the soil of the country was probably the result of ignorance rather than of lethargy, for when knowledge was gained, the difficulties in the way of obtaining breadstuffs disappeared.

Governor Macquarie continued the rates of remuneration authorised by his predecessors; but he decided that masters should pay their assigned servants a yearly sum of £10 for a man and £7 for a woman, including the value of slops allowed, or £7 for a man and £5, 10s. for a woman, when clothing was supplied. It is probable that these rates were already determined by custom before the orders of the Governor were issued, as most masters made allowances to their men at about the scale named; and that the rule was introduced to meet the cases of those who made no allowance or such as was insufficient to meet the wants of their assigned servants. The whole tendency of the regulations was to allow a free labourer to earn on an average ten shillings a week in addition to rations, or twenty shillings a week where rations were not supplied. As already remarked, there is abundant contemporary testimony that, in spite of the severe penalties of the law, the legal rates were not adhered to, for the settlers ordinarily had to give more, the labourers refusing employment at the fixed rates.

Average prices of some few articles during the first twenty years of settlement are given below; and although labourers in receipt of three shillings a day could afford to purchase few of the com-

modities mentioned, they would probably, under the necessity of accepting the barter currency of the country, be compelled to take them in payment for their work, notwithstanding that by special regulation it was ordained that all wages were to be paid in sterling money or in wheat, at the option of the labourer.

Maize, per bushel.....	10 shillings
Wheat, per bushel.....	12 shillings
Flour, per pound.....	3 pence
Butter, per pound	3 shillings
Cheese, per pound.....	2 shillings 6 pence
Bacon, per pound.....	1 shilling 9 pence
Salt beef, per pound.....	5 pence
Salt pork, per pound.....	7 pence
Rice, per pound.....	3 pence
Potatoes, per pound.....	3 pence
Moist sugar, per pound.....	1 shilling 6 pence
Soap, per pound.....	1 shilling
Eggs, per dozen.....	2 to 3 shillings

These figures represent the average market rates, but prices were subject to great fluctuation; for example, wheat sold in 1817 at twenty-five shillings per bushel, while maize touched sixteen shillings in some other years. Fresh meat was not plentiful, as the Governors were afraid of destroying the breeding stock, and at one time the penalty of death was actually decreed to any person destroying the wild cattle found at the "cowpastures" of Camden, although these cattle were afterwards killed, as it was feared that they might deteriorate the breed of stock. The settlers were at all times encouraged to keep pigs; and they must have grown vegetables, as American whalers, even in the earliest times, were accustomed to put in to Port Jackson for a supply.

Trade and communication were restricted, not only with the view of ensuring the safe keeping of the convicts, but also in the commercial interests of Great Britain, and of the East India Company. British seamen were forbidden to go on board a foreign vessel under the penalty of a £50 fine, and no British subject was permitted to enter into any contract with the subjects of a foreign power under pain of being sent away from the colony. Ships bringing cargoes from any part of the world, unless the goods had been manufactured in Great Britain, were obliged to pay a duty of five per cent. *ad valorem* on the amount of their invoices, and special enactments were from time to time levelled at the importation of merchandise, brought from the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

Notes of hand for contracted debts were not recognisable as evidence, unless the account of the articles sold, with the prices stated therein, was also produced. No note of hand could be drawn in copper coin or in colonial currency, as such bills were—under an order of the Governor—to be liquidated in sterling money only, and the words “sterling money” had to be expressed in the body of the note or bill. The penalty for a breach of this regulation was a fine of £50. A subsequent regulation prohibited any person from receiving or paying any note of hand that had not the words “sterling money” therein expressed, under a penalty of double the amount of the note inflicted on both payer and receiver. Having regulated the relations of employer and employed, of buyer and seller, and the prices of labour and provisions, it was only fitting that the rate of interest should be determined. The Governor, therefore, prohibited the charging or ac-

ceptance of more than eight per cent. interest on any bill, bond, or the like, under a penalty subject to the laws against usury. It is almost needless to say that this regulation was without difficulty set at nought by the usurers.

The settlement possessed a brewery, a pottery, a tannery, a manufactory for tobacco pipes, and another for coarse cloths and woollens. The last named was established at Parramatta in order to utilise the services of the women prisoners, who were also employed in spinning linen out of the white flax of the country.

Despite the fact that the port of Newcastle was a dangerous place for vessels to enter, the exportation of coal was attempted, and there appears to have been some trade carried on with Bengal in this mineral. Among other exports were Bêche-de-mer, whale oil, whale bone, seal skins, kangaroo skins, and lastly, what was destined to be the staple product of the colony, wool.

Many of the restrictions upon trade were of a peculiarly harassing and impolitic nature, and were calculated greatly to discourage mercantile speculation. The isolated condition of the settlement rendered colonists peculiarly liable to extortion on the part of traders, and to meet this the paternal government issued a general order fixing the maximum prices to be paid for all important merchandise—prices often too low to afford a fair profit to the trader. As usual in such cases, the law did not benefit those whom it was intended to serve, for it frequently happened that the entire cargo of a vessel was secured by the officers of the settlement, who for a considerable period had a sort of pre-emptive right in regard to importations; and articles of the first necessity

were retailed by them to the settlers at greatly enhanced prices. Another regulation of a particularly oppressive character was the prohibition of any trading vessel from calling at the settlements at Van Diemen's Land for the purpose of disposing of goods, unless it had previously called at Port Jackson. These and other abuses were in some cases restricted in their operation by Macquarie, and in others abolished. Soon after his arrival he did away with the practice of fixing a maximum price for grain and butcher's meat, but reverted to it a few years later.

The people other than those of the labouring class were, according to all contemporary history, in a very flourishing condition, but this description must not be taken too literally, as it was that of men accustomed to the wretchedness of English and Irish peasant life, and what would be deemed fairly comfortable by them would nowadays be looked upon as far from tolerable. As regards the ordinary labourer, his material condition was in every respect wretched. He lived usually in a windowless hut, was clothed with canvas, and his food, though plentiful, was coarse and savourless. Of opportunities for amusement, culture, or self-education, he had none. Books were hardly to be obtained; morality was at its lowest ebb; and religion was a matter of authoritative regulation and enforced ceremonial obedience.

The method of exchange prior to the year 1810 was mainly barter, varied to a slight extent by the circulation of foreign silver and of copper coin. The latter possessed twice its English value, and a general order was promulgated against both its import and its export. Later in the history of the colony,

various expedients were resorted to by tradesmen, and shopkeepers' notes were circulated for sums varying from 3d. upwards, payable in Spanish dollars. The standard currency really consisted of paymasters' notes on the English Treasury, and these were negotiable with shippers in exchange for goods, a fact which assisted materially in the establishment of a trade monopoly by the officers of the civil and military departments. There were, however, in circulation all descriptions of coins that a trader would acquire in his visits to the East Indies or the Spanish Main, and contemporary advices quote the following coins and their current values:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Guinea.....	1	2	0	Spanish dollar.....	0	5	0
Johanna.....	4	0	0	Rupee.....	...	0	2
Half-joe.....	2	0	0	Dutch guilder	0	2	0
Ducat.....	0	9	6	English shilling.....	0	1	1
Gold mohur.....	1	17	6	A copper coin of 1 oz.	0	0	2
Pagoda.....	0	8	0				

These currency values were, however, subject to considerable alteration. Labourers rarely saw coin of any kind; they were paid for their work in goods at monopoly values, and their remuneration consisted chiefly of rum, the price of which was determined by the importers, who saved themselves from competition by a mutual agreement, by which they were bound neither to underbuy nor undersell one another. The goods purchased by the officers from speculative shippers were paid for in wheat receipts, in paymasters' notes, and in Spanish dollars. It was to prevent the depletion of silver currency that the Governor in 1831 adopted the expedient of striking the centre out of the dollar and using the "dump" to denominate a fourth of the value of the

original coin, which, however, still passed current as a convenient denomination of the value of 5s. (five shillings).

The currency continued very much in the unsatisfactory condition described until the growing business of the country allowed of the opening of a bank. The proposal to establish a local bank had been brushed aside in 1812 by Lord Liverpool, who informed the Governor that silver to the value of £10,000 would be sent from India, in order to tide the colony over its currency difficulties. This remittance, however, far from satisfied the needs of the community, and the Bank of New South Wales was opened for business on the 8th April, 1817. Its capital amounted to £20,000, divided into 200 shares. The bank was incorporated under a regular charter and its affairs were controlled by a president and six directors. Its paper soon became the principal circulating medium of the colony, and business was done in the discounting of bills of short date, and the advance of money on mortgage securities. Government payments, for provisions purchased locally, continued to be made with receipts from the Commissary, which, when taken into the office, were consolidated by bills on the King's Treasury. Captains of vessels purchasing provisions in the colony drew bills on the ship-owners; while the commercial transactions of the inhabitants were conducted in currency dollars, copper, tradesmen's dockets and the notes of the Bank of New South Wales. It is a peculiar fact, characteristic of the period, that a debt of more than £300 was regarded as one of honour, in consequence of the abuse of the privilege of appeal from the local courts to the King-in-Council.

When Major-General Lachlan Macquarie entered

upon the Government of the colony on the 1st January, 1810, the population numbered 10,454 persons. The settlement surrounding Port Jackson was bounded on the north, west, and south by the Blue Mountains, beyond which no one had then been able to penetrate, though several attempts to do so had been made, and it was a general opinion that farther than sixty miles away no land suitable for tillage was likely to be found. Along the sea the colony extended from Port Stephens to Jervis Bay, a distance of about one hundred and fifty-six miles, and it was confidently stated that beyond these inlets settlement could not expand.

Macquarie's term of office was, however, brightened by the successful passage of Blaxland, Lawson, and Wentworth to the plains beyond the mountains, and the subsequent discoveries of new areas for settlement; which finally dissipated the idea, long entertained, that the colony would cease to exist should the support it received from the British Treasury be withdrawn.

The island of Tasmania, then known as Van Diemen's Land, was a dependency of the mother colony from its first settlement in 1803 until 1825; it was colonised from New South Wales and was intended to serve the purpose of a subsidiary penal settlement.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SECOND INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1821-1838.

THE second period of the industrial history of Australia comprises the seventeen years from 1821 to 1838. The area of settlement was, during the whole of the period, continually being widened. In 1823, Allan Cunningham found a practicable route through Pandora's Pass to the rich Liverpool Plains. During the following year Lieutenant Millar formed at Moreton Bay an establishment which afterwards became the capital of Queensland. The first great journey of exploration by Major Mitchell to the north and north-west of New South Wales was entered upon in 1831. The journey proved rich in results, and added greatly to the knowledge of the colony's resources. The unlocking of territory had an emphatic influence on the development of the country's industries, as settlement followed close on the heels of the explorers, and tended to provoke interest in the minds of English speculators, a great deal of whose capital began to seek investment in station properties.

South Australia was colonised in the year 1836, by immigrants coming direct from England under the auspices of the South Australian Colonisation Company, and the first permanent settlement of Victoria was made in 1834, the first colonists coming over from Tasmania. Neither South Australia nor Victoria were subject to the blight of penal colon-

isation, and these colonies, therefore, began their career under more favourable conditions than did either New South Wales or Tasmania.

The labour legislation of this period did not depart to any appreciable extent from earlier ideas. Under the provisions of a regulation issued on the 17th July, 1828, servants neglecting or refusing to work, or absenting themselves from their employment, could be sent by a magistrate to the common gaol or the house of correction for a term not exceeding six or three months respectively, with forfeiture of all wages due; and servants spoiling, destroying, or losing property were obliged to pay double the value of the article injured or lost, under a penalty of being committed to gaol for a term of from one to six months. On the other hand, a servant had remedy against an employer's ill-usage to the extent of six months' wages and cancellation of the agreement of service. Any person who employed a servant previously retained was liable to a fine of from £5 to £20, half of which was paid to the person aggrieved and half to the Benevolent Society. Subsequent labour legislation was even more repressive in its character, as will be seen later on.

The comparative scarcity of free labour and the high price it commanded show forcibly the unprofitable nature of bond labour, which, though available for little above the cost of rations, was for some considerable time a drug in the market. This was especially the case during the period of extensive immigration, which occurred in the early twenties. The Government, therefore, was hard set to provide suitable employment for the prisoners left on its hands, the number of whom was constantly being

augmented by the arrival of transports from the United Kingdom.

To enable the Government to dispose of this labour, it was decreed that any free settler having an order from the English authorities for a grant of land could, by pledging himself to employ twenty bond servants, obtain a grant of 2,000 acres. There were, indeed, instances of settlers obtaining this quantity of land even without such an order, simply upon guaranteeing to relieve the Government of the expense of maintaining twenty men; and in 1826, the weekly sum of 3s. 6d., which had been, since December, 1821, payable to the Government as hire for an assigned artisan was abolished. Assignment, it will be seen, was really a device adopted by the Government for the maintenance of the bond population with as little outlay as possible, and land was given away, not so much with a view of encouraging settlement, as of inducing holders to relieve the authorities of the cost of maintaining prisoners, for whom no profitable employment could be provided by the Government. The continual immigration of free settlers, most of whom obtained grants of land, with the right of receiving an assignment of men proportionate to their grant, rapidly used up the supply of assignable persons; the Government farms, which had been established for the purpose of keeping the convicts at work, were abandoned and the penal settlements were broken up and their occupants distributed among those who wanted labour, until in Governor Darling's time (1825-1831) the opposite condition was reached, and it was found impossible to satisfy the demand for assigned servants, and, what had never before happened, the colony was left without any reserve of labour which could be called upon

in an emergency, so that in harvest and shearing times there was occasionally a great scarcity of men. It was this need of hands on emergent occasions that gave rise to the scheme of assisted immigration, which began to take effect in 1832.

The whole of the social, economic, and political literature of this period was constantly insisting upon the growing disproportion between the proprietary class in the colony, particularly capitalists who had invested in pastoral pursuits, and the labouring class; and inducements of every description were held out to the agricultural peasantry of the United Kingdom to emigrate to the southern promised land.

The desire for cheap labour was not the only influence at work in the promotion of emigration; there was also an earnest wish on the part of some to secure population of desirable types in order to develop the resources of the country, and on the part of others to afford relief to the distressed peasantry of the United Kingdom.

The introduction of a system of assisted immigration marked a change in the ideas of the governing powers since the departure of Governor Macquarie. Under his régime, not only was no encouragement offered to intended emigrants from England, but they were positively discouraged. This change of policy was due to the effect that the opening up of new territory had on men's minds. So long as the colony was shut in by the barrier of the Blue Mountains, so long was it possible to keep it mainly a penal settlement; but with the discovery of the western plains, all hope of doing this completely vanished. As the expense of a passage from England or Ireland rendered it difficult for mechanics to make their way to the colony, the practice of paying a bounty for

immigrants of a certain class was introduced. However, the number of mechanics brought out does not seem to have been large. The bounty was probably of most advantage to persons already in the colony who desired to bring out their women folk and children. There was, however, as already mentioned, a fair influx of non-bounty immigrants; but it is not likely that these included many mechanics or labourers. They were principally enterprising men of small means, and professional men anxious to practise in the colony, or, failing that, to turn their hand to trade or squatting.

Lord Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, being impressed about this time, 1831, with the great disproportion existing between the sexes, and desirous of remedying this state of things by the introduction of a number of unmarried female immigrants, recommended the setting aside of a portion of the revenue arising from the sale of Crown lands as a fund from which advances might be made, by way of loan, to assist in paying for the passage of desirable persons. From this time forward it became customary to regard the revenue derived from the sale of Crown lands as forming not a part of the income of the colony, but a reserve available for the purpose of meeting the expense of bringing to the colony immigrant labour, of which for long years it was so sorely in need. The sum contributed to each female immigrant was £8, half the estimated cost of the passage out, the other half being made up by the immigrant herself. In the case of the funds proving deficient, a preference was to be given to females immigrating with their families over such as were unattached. It was subsequently decided that a limited number of mechanics should also be assisted with

advances to enable them to emigrate; and agricultural labourers were afterwards included among those to whom it was considered advisable to advance money by way of loan as an instalment of the passage money to the colony. The system, however, underwent many changes from time to time, according to the amount of the land fund, the need for labour, and the enterprise of private settlers, and ultimately was developed on quite different lines; but throughout these changes the principle of introducing rural labourers and their families, single women, and skilled artisans was steadily kept in view.

Under the regulations by which prisoners were assigned employers were forbidden to give their servants regular wages, but it is well known that there were employers of assigned labourers who paid them wages, and that printers received as much as a guinea and even more per week on account of their masters being under the impression that night work could not otherwise be enforced. Butchers, blacksmiths and others received 5s. per week, besides food and clothing; the printers, however, maintained themselves. The wages paid to free labour in the first years of Brisbane's administration was, for artisans and mechanics, from 5s. to 7s. per day without rations; and for agricultural labourers in 1828, from £20 to £30 per annum with rations, and in some cases even £50. In the towns especially, artisans, such as carpenters, could at this time earn 50s. per week; but wheelwrights and blacksmiths received about 36s. per week, and unskilled labourers from 3s. to 5s. per day. Compositors could obtain from 35s. to 50s. a week; but clerks and professional men had few opportunities to obtain employment.

In 1830, the services of artisans of various classes

appear to have been greatly wanted, and for some years afterwards every description of labour was in brisk demand, although the remuneration of skilled mechanics remained unaltered. The quotation of daily rates, however, is apt to be misleading, as few mechanics secured, even if they sought it, employment during the whole year. It is probable that common labourers did not earn more than from 4s. to 5s. per week with rations and lodgings, and mechanics of the highest qualifications did not average more than £2 per week the year round.

The wages of a shepherd appear to have been from £20 to £30 per annum, and of a shepherd's watchman, £20 per annum. A ploughman's remuneration for six months' work was quoted in 1835 at £20. The Select Committee of the Legislative Council, which sat in 1835, reported, after taking much evidence, that good mechanics could earn from 30s. to 40s. per week, and farm labourers from 7s. 6d. to 10s. per week with rations. One of the witnesses examined by the Committee stated that he paid shipwrights, coopers, and blacksmiths from 7s. to 8s. and sailmakers 6s. a day, adding, "We consider these wages too high, but find it impracticable to reduce them, as rather than take less the men will go out of work; and they can afford to do so, because the wages of three or four days will suffice to maintain them for a week." Another witness said he paid millwrights, blacksmiths, and engine-drivers 42s. per week, and that a good carpenter could earn £3, 3s., and a stoneman from £3 to £4 per week. All the witnesses were agreed as to the difficulty of inducing labourers to move into the country districts — a difficulty that told so severely against the agricultural and pastoral industries that in 1838 another

Select Committee was appointed to consider the questions of labour and immigration.

In contemporary evidence, however, the allusions to the difficulty of obtaining good men and to the high wages enjoyed by mechanics should be accepted with some caution. In a population numbering not much over one hundred thousand, the demand for good men must have been limited, while the presence of bond labour and the necessity of finding employment for it may be expected to have interfered very seriously with the regularity of the work to be obtained by free men. There was probably in the country districts a demand for skilled labourers in excess of the supply; but the wages such men could earn did not offer an inducement at all commensurate with the discomforts and dangers which they expected to encounter.

Prior to the year 1827, tea and sugar were almost invariably included as part of the rations issued to servants; but owing to the straitened circumstances of the settlers, the result of unfavourable seasons, and a fall in the price of live stock, the place of these was taken by milk. The weekly ration, as fixed by Government, was as follows:—12 lbs. wheat or 9 lbs. seconds flour, or in lieu thereof, at the discretion of the master, $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. maize meal and 9 lbs. wheat or 7 lbs. seconds flour; 7 lbs. beef or mutton, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. salt pork; 2 oz. salt, and 2 oz. soap. Any articles beyond these which the master might supply were considered as indulgences, which he was at liberty to discontinue whenever he might think proper. In 1828 the crop of the colony was found insufficient for its needs. Grain had consequently to be imported, and a scarcity of breadstuffs was apprehended. The Governor, therefore, published a general order, in which the rations issued to labourers in the public

service were reduced to 7 lbs. of bread; and all persons and settlers having in their employ assigned servants were earnestly recommended to adopt a similar scale, and to make up for the reduction by increasing the ration of meat.

The prices of provisions fluctuated considerably, and especially was this the case in reference to such as had to be imported. Locally produced provisions of all kinds were, however, generally plentiful at moderate prices, the ruling rates in 1823-24 being as follows:—

	s. d.	s. d.
Butter, per pound.....	2	3 to 2 10
Cheese, per pound.....	1	3
Fresh pork, per pound.....	0	6 to 0 8
Fresh beef, per pound.....	0	6 to 0 8
Mutton, per pound.....	0	6 to 0 8
Bread, per pound.....	0	3½
Fowls, per pair.....	3	4
Wheat, per bushel.....	8	0
Maize, per bushel.....	6	0
Barley, per bushel.....	5	0
Potatoes, per cwt.....	8	0
Eggs, per dozen.....	1	10

In New South Wales the great drought, which began in 1827, sent corn up to a very high figure, and forced settlers to dispose of their live stock in order to buy grain for the support of their households and establishments. All provisions, with the exception of meat, which became very cheap indeed, rose in price, and the crisis was accentuated by the collapse of the sheep and cattle speculation inaugurated a few years previously, about the time of the formation of the Australian Agricultural Company. The price of wheat from month to month ranged from 7s. (seven shillings) to 14s. 9d. (fourteen shillings and nine pence) per bushel; of maize from 7s. (seven

shillings) to 10s. 6d. (ten shillings and six pence) per bushel; of barley from 4s. (four shillings) to 9s. 6d. (nine and six pence) per bushel; of hay from £10 to £17 per ton; and of straw, from 20s. (twenty shillings) to 35s. (thirty-five shillings) per ton. The drought appears to have been almost general, and in the words of a writer of the time, it had "blasted the whole country," while the future prospect of subsistence diet was confined to a little water and an abundant supply of meat, which was being retailed at 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (one penny three farthings) a pound. Fortunately for the colonists on the mainland, the proximity of Van Diemen's Land, where an exceptionally good crop had just been gathered in, prevented many of the dire effects that must have followed in the wake of long-continued famine prices for grain. Pork was quoted at 8d. (eight pence) per lb., and all vegetables were advanced to twice their ordinary price, while they had deteriorated by half their usual quality.

The Governor, true to the traditions of his office, sought to meet the rigours of a season of drought by a general order, dated the 30th September, 1828, in which, with the view of enabling the bakers the better to meet the demands of the public, and of keeping down the price of bread as far as the means of the Government would permit, he signified his intention, until the ensuing crop should be available, of putting up to auction sale a portion of the wheat in the public stores on each successive market day, in lots of twenty-four bushels each, for the accommodation of the small dealers. These sales were to be conducted for ready money, and the profit, if any, after defraying the cost of the wheat and the charges incurred by the Government in procuring it, was to be appropri-

ated to a fund for the supply to poor settlers of seed-maize. Fat cattle at this time were quoted at £3 per head, wethers and male lambs at 15s. (fifteen shillings) each, female lambs at £2, and ewes at £2 and £3. During 1834, wheat fell as low as 3s. (three shillings) per bushel, and rose in the latter part of the year as high as 14s. (fourteen shillings). Prices were, however, subject to much fluctuation, particularly those for articles which were not produced in the country. The long delay of a ship from China with tea, or from the Mauritius with sugar, sometimes produced a rise of 100 to 200 per cent. in the price of these articles, to be followed on the arrival of the vessels by a relapse to ordinary rates. In 1832 bread was sold at 7d. (seven pence) to 8d. (eight pence) per 2-lb. loaf, and flour at 14s. (fourteen shillings) to 15s. (fifteen shillings) per 100 lbs. In 1835 beef was 2d. (two pence) per lb., sugar 2½d. (two pence half-penny) and tea 2s. (two shillings) per lb. In times of flood or drought, flour has been known to rise from £15 to £50 per ton; and wheat to 20s. (twenty shillings) per bushel. In 1834 the price of flour was 33s. per 100 lbs., and the reputed 2-lb. loaf sold at 8d.; maize was 3s. 6d. per bushel; beef, by the quarter, 1½d. per lb.; mutton by the carcase, 2½d. per lb.; pork and veal, 3½d.; salt beef, 2¾d.; bacon, 1s. 2d.; potatoes, from 10s. to 12s. per cwt.; tobacco, 6d. per lb.; mould candles, 8d.; "dips," 5d.; soap, 4d.; salt pork, 5d.; fresh butter, 1s. 10d.; salt butter, 1s. 4d.; cheese, 6d.; the 4-lb. loaf, 1s. 2d.; fowls, 2s. per pair; ducks, 3s. 6d. per pair; geese and turkeys, 4s. each; and eggs, 1s. 3d. per dozen. Ration bread was frequently made from the meal of barley, rye, oats, buck-wheat, Indian-corn, peas, beans, rice, and potatoes; and the different classes

of bread were distinguished as "Standard Wheaten Bread," "Household," and "Mixed."

Rentals in those days were high. In 1834 houses in Sydney, built on leases of ten years, and the whole expense of erecting which, including the lease-rent, did not exceed £200 each, were taken as soon as they were completed at a weekly rental of 25s. (twenty-five shillings). In 1835 the rent of a house of two rooms in Sydney was from 5s. (five shillings) to 10s. (ten shillings) per week, and a cottage of two or three rooms commanded 14s. (fourteen shillings) per week rental. Few houses were supplied with water, so that an additional outlay was involved to meet this necessity; yet, single men could obtain board and lodging for 10s. 6d. (ten shillings and six pence) per week, though the amount generally varied between 12s. (twelve shillings) and 14s. (fourteen shillings), if washing were included. Boots, shoes, coats, hats, and other articles of clothing appear to have been exceedingly dear.

The principal articles of manufacture were coarse woollen cloths, cabbage-tree hats, salt, candles, leather, boots, and drain-pipes and other earthenware.

The export of wool rose very rapidly; in 1822, it was 172,880 lbs.; in 1825, it was 411,600 lbs.; and in 1829, it was 1,005,333 lbs.

The surplus produce of the coal mines at Newcastle, after the wants of the Government establishments had been supplied, were authorised by a Government order, dated the 9th May, 1822, to be sold at the pits, to those wishing to purchase, at a fixed rate of 10s. 6d. (ten shillings six pence) per ton, and the proceeds of such sales were collected at the Customs, as the cargoes came to be discharged in

Sydney. From the commencement of the year 1828 the revenue from these sales was directed to be paid over to the Commissariat Department as a contribution towards the maintenance of the bond population. The annual production of coal was usually about 4,000 tons.

During this period repeated efforts were made to improve the condition of the currency and reduce it to a fixed standard of sterling value and denomination. Up to 1826 the circulating medium was mainly Spanish dollars and notes of the Bank of New South Wales expressed in Spanish dollars. A Government order, dated the 5th February, 1823, directed that the public accounts should be kept in dollars and cents, and this order remained in force up to the end of the year 1826. It continued, however, to be the almost universal practice in the colony to express all rates and sums, in the first instance, under British denominations, thereby rendering it necessary, before any sum could be brought to account as prescribed in the general order, to calculate the amount in dollars, and the inconvenience of the operation was further increased by the variation in the nominal value of the dollar. In ordinary business transactions this coin was rated at 5s.; in payment of the salaries of civil officers, at 4s. 4d.; in the issue of pay to the military, at 4s. 8d.; and in the collection of colonial dues, at the highest rate for which it was received by the latest public tenders made to the Commissariat. It is readily conceivable that so anomalous a system must have been attended with great inconvenience. It was determined, therefore, by the Lords Commissioners of the King's Treasury to introduce into several colonies a uniform currency of sterling denomination, and in further-

ance of such determination British silver and copper money was sent to the Commissariat Department, in the year 1826, to the amount of £50,200; in the following year to the amount of £13,210; and in 1829 to the amount of £20,000; giving for the years mentioned a total sum of £83,410. These remittances, with the sums introduced by private individuals, which were estimated at from £40,000 to £50,000, furnished the settlement with a circulating medium of British coin amounting to £130,000. Nevertheless, up to the year 1829 transactions between individuals continued to be regulated partly in British coinage or in Spanish dollars at the declared sterling value of 4s. 4d., and partly with reference to the former rates of the dollar, viz., 5s.; or, to employ the common appellation by which these two standards were distinguished, partly in "sterling" and partly in "currency." The tradesman's notes of this period were almost invariably expressed in "currency" denomination.

In connection with the question of the country's currency it is interesting to note a general order dated the 22nd September, 1828, in which the Governor announced his willingness to receive the ring dollars and dumps issued under the proclamation of Macquarie in 1813, and to grant for them bills at the same rate as for British coin on the Lords Commissioners of the King's Treasury, or to give in exchange for them British coin to the value of 3s. 3d. sterling for the ring and 1s. 1d. for the dump; but in a general order issued in 1829, sterling value of "currency" issued to troops was affixed to the French 5-franc piece, the 2-franc piece, and the franc; to the Sicilian dollar, or scudo, the piece-of-forty and the piece-of-twenty; to the Spanish dollar;

to the United States dollar; and to the Calcutta, Bombay, and Surat rupee. Indeed the elimination of foreign currency seems to have been a very slow process.

The period under notice was marked by considerable mercantile and speculative activity. In 1826 the Bank of Australia was instituted, and in 1832 the Savings Bank was established by the Governor, the latter institution allowing interest on deposits at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, with a division among the depositors of the surplus interest at the end of each year. The same epoch is famous also for the establishment of the Australian Agricultural Company, whose immediate influence upon the development of the country was not altogether of a favourable nature. The Australian Marine Insurance Company was established in 1831.

Up to the time of the advent of Sir Richard Bourke the Governors had been empowered to make grants of Crown lands to private individuals, and charges were frequently insinuated of undue favouritism, to call it by no harsher word, and a retiring Governor was severely reprimanded for making a grant to his successor, who, on assuming the government, made a similar grant to his predecessor. But in 1831 orders from the Colonial Office directed the introduction of a new system with regard to the disposal of the colony's Crown lands. All free grants were to be confined to such as were made to schools, churches, and other public institutions, and the only other method of alienation permitted was to be by sale at public auction, under a form of restricted competition. Prior to the limitation of the system of making grants of land, immigrants were entitled to receive from the Governor one square

mile of territory for every £500 of capital immediately available for its cultivation, to the extent of four square miles or 2,560 acres—the limit within which the Governor was authorised to make grants to one individual. Persons possessed of a capital less than £250, clear of all expenses of reaching the colony, were for a long time not considered as eligible to receive grants of land; but a subsequent regulation extended the privilege to them, as well as to natives of the colony who were of good character, the grant in such cases comprising from 50 to 100 acres in any of the districts which had been set apart for the settlement of small farmers. The condition of tenure was actual residence upon the land granted. The regulations under which the grants were made were quashed by Viscount Goderich, afterwards Lord Ripon, who set upon all alienated land in the colony a minimum price of 5s. (five shillings) per acre. With the institution of this agrarian law, the industrial history of the settlements in Australasia entered upon a new phase of development.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THIRD INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1838-1852.

THE third period in the industrial history of Australia may be said to have opened under favourable auspices. Immigration was encouraged by votes of public money, and as a consequence the population within five years increased by nearly 80 per cent., or at a rate of more than 15,000 a year. Settlement in the southern portions was gradually spreading, the discoveries made by Sir Thomas Mitchell and others having thrown open to occupation large areas of country, which gave to trade of all kinds a powerful impetus—an impetus which was accelerated by the amendment of the land laws. At the beginning of the period all available Crown lands could be rented under lease for the term of one year. The lease was put up to public auction at a rental of twenty shillings for each section of one square mile. In the event of the land being sold the lessee was required to surrender it on one month's notice. Under the Government orders of 1831, all lands for sale were offered at auction and the minimum price was fixed at five shillings per acre, and this minimum was maintained until 1839, when the upset price was raised to twelve shillings per acre and the practice introduced of varying this minimum according to the presumed value of the land. The minimum price was again raised in 1842 to twenty shillings per acre.

This raising of the minimum price of Crown lands immediately operated as a check upon the land sales, the revenue derived from this source rapidly dwindling away to almost nothing. In 1839 the sale of Crown lands realized £152,962; in 1840, £316,626; in 1841, £90,387; in 1842, £14,574; in 1843, £11,297; and in 1844, £7,402. It was an understood thing that the money received from the sale of the Crown lands was to be devoted exclusively to the promotion of immigration and the replenishment of the colony's labour supply, without which cultivation could not be extended in an equal ratio with the acquisition of estates by capitalists and settlers; but when the land fund was exhausted there was necessarily an end to bounty-fed immigration, and Sir George Gipps, in his anxiety to raise money for the purpose, embroiled himself with the squatters by imposing upon them special agrarian legislation, which they considered particularly grievous and unjust. The previous Governor, Sir Richard Bourke, had treated the natural pasturage situated outside the "boundaries of location" as commonage, equally available to all desirous of making use of it for depasturing their flocks and herds, provided that it was not wanted by permanent settlers, and therefore he demanded from squatters making use of it, only a yearly license fee of £10, to which was subsequently added, at the instance of these pastoral licensees, a small fee for every head of live stock depastured, in order to provide for the establishment and support of a border police for service in the squatting districts. Under the Gipps régime, as the revenue from the sale of land had failed, it was thought that the squatters could be compelled to contribute to it by purchasing

land at a minimum price, and thus to supply funds for immigration purposes. This measure was met by a counter effort on the part of the squatters, who laboured, and that successfully, to obtain regular leases of their squattages, with fixity of tenure and pre-emptive rights. A war of interests was thus created between the pastoral and agricultural industries, which took years of agitation and much legislation to allay.

The practice of assigning prisoners to settlers ceased about the beginning of this period. The despatch directing Governor Bourke to discontinue the system was dated 26th May, 1837, and the system came to an end in 1838. This event made the introduction of free labourers almost imperative, and led to the activity of immigration already referred to. A Master and Servants Act, passed during the administration of Sir George Gipps, throws considerable light on the condition of labour during this period. The measures provided that artificers, manufacturers, journeymen, workmen, shepherds, labourers, and other servants, who should refuse to serve the time of their engagements, or return, or leave any work uncompleted, or who should absent themselves therefrom, or refuse to work, might, upon the oath of one or more credible persons be brought before two justices of the peace, and upon conviction in cases where the amount due for work done did not exceed £30, be adjudged to forfeit all or part of the wages due at the time proceedings were instituted, and to pay a sum not exceeding twice the amount of any damage incurred through neglect, absence, or other cause. In default of payment the offender was committed to the common gaol, without bail or mainprize, for any

time not exceeding three calendar months, unless the amount in which he was mulct was sooner paid. Masters against whom judgment had been given for recovery of wages could, upon non-payment, be moved against by distress and sale, and for want of sufficient distress could be sent to gaol for a term not exceeding three calendar months if the claim was not sooner satisfied. Servants obtaining advances and afterwards absconding or refusing to perform the work for which they had been engaged, could also be sent to gaol for a term not exceeding three calendar months, or to the house of correction, with hard labour, for the same term. Persons engaging servants whose engagements with other persons had not expired were fined not more than £20, nor less than £5; and the servant who could be proved to have spoiled, destroyed, or lost property was adjudged to pay double the value of such property, and also, if a male, committed to gaol for a term not exceeding three calendar months. Female offenders were exempt from being sent to gaol under the provisions of the Act. Such were the restraints imposed upon both masters and workmen, and such the restrictive legislation, enforced with fines and imprisonment with hard labour, which the wisdom of our forefathers evolved to stimulate the industries of the young colony, and to ensure its development.

When the state was compelled, by reason of lack of money, to leave the settlers to their own efforts in regard to procuring labour, various schemes were propounded by which a continuous and cheap supply might be obtained. The employment of coloured labour from the Western Pacific islands was at first greatly in favour, and several shipments of natives from Tanna and the New Hebrides were in-

troduced; but the experiment proved a failure, as the islanders would not apply themselves to the work of shepherding at which they were set. Moreover, the local legislature interfered, and interdicted by enactments what it regarded in the light of an attempt to establish a new slave trade. The attention of the colonists was then directed to the possibility of procuring labour from the East Indies or from China, but immigration from such sources was deemed inadvisable or unattainable. An agitation on the part of employers anxious to engage cheap labour from India was begun, only to be quenched shortly afterwards by a wave of counter-agitation on the part of the free labourers of the colony. The largest public meeting ever held in Australia up to that time was held to protest against the introduction of Hill coolies. In the city of Sydney, more than 4,500 signatures were obtained to a petition on this subject for presentation to the Queen; and Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressed, under date the 29th September, 1843, his disapproval of the project and refused to it the sanction of the Imperial Government.

The Committee on Immigration, in its report to Sir George Gipps, stated that in consequence of the great dearth of labour, particularly of pastoral labour, the flock-masters had been driven to exhaust every expedient to increase the service derivable from the number of men then employed. Three or four times the ordinary and proper tale of sheep had, it was reported, been placed under the charge of each individual shepherd, and many squatters had been forced to abandon the rearing of lambs in consequence of being unable to provide for the care of augmented flocks. The demand for labour of a

pastoral character appears to have been continuous; and fresh employers were ever arriving and adding their demands for labour to those of the existing settlers.

In Sydney and other towns it was customary to hire workmen on wages only, lodgings and rations being their own concern; but in the country, not only shepherds and pastoral workers generally, but blacksmiths and wheelwrights and other artisans were lodged and rationed according to a regular scale. At the beginning of the period, carpenters, smiths, masons, shipwrights, wheelwrights, cabinet-makers, plumbers and glaziers, harness-makers and shoemakers could earn 5 to 8 shillings per day; working overseers, gardeners, and wool-sorters varying rates from £30 to £70 per annum, together with lodging and rations; ploughmen, stockmen, shepherds, and brickmakers, from £15 to £25 with lodging and rations, the rates of wages being regulated according to the capabilities of the workmen.

In 1839 there was a great increase in wages, an ordinary mechanic being able to earn from eight to twelve shillings per day, and a farm labourer from £20 to £30, with, of course, a hut to live in and his rations; but so far as artisans' wages were concerned their increase was coincident with a rise in the price of provisions. In the year 1840, contemporary opinion pronounces wages as being very high; shepherds, for instance, receiving from £30 to £40 a year and rations; labourers in Sydney, sometimes as much as seven to eight shillings per day; and female domestic servants £20 a year, with board and lodging. These were considered advances on the wages of the old assignment times, when free labour was thought to be amply remunerated at £14 to £16

per year and rations. Wages fell in 1841, when mechanics could be hired at seven shillings and six-pence or eight shillings per day; farm servants at £22 per year and domestics at £12. In 1843 the wages of station servants, shepherds, hut-keepers and others declined to £18 per annum and even less. Sheep-shearing was paid for at the rate of fifteen shillings per 100, and sheep-washing at three shillings per 100. The rations served out were valued at £12 per annum, and comprised flour, meat, tea and sugar.

In 1838 and 1839 the crops failed, and in 1840 they partially failed; and during these three years, also, the price of wool declined from two shillings to one shilling per lb. For provisions in 1838, quotations were as follows:—

Potatoes from 7s. to 15s. per cwt.; bread, 4½d. per 2-lb. loaf; beef and mutton, from 4d. to 5d. per lb.; cabbages, from 2d. to 4d. each; flour, best, 17s. per cwt., and seconds, 13s. per cwt.

The year 1839 was, however, one of drought and scarcity, and prices rapidly rose to the position already indicated.

Flour ranged from £50 to £80 per ton; cattle from £8 to £10 per head; and sheep from 30s. to £2 per head. Clean wheat was quoted at £1, 2s. 6d. per bushel; hay at £18 per ton; and fresh butter at 3s. 6d. per lb. Bread was sold at 7d. per 2-lb. loaf, with a subsequent rise to 8d.; potatoes from 1d. to 2½d. per lb.; meat from 3d. to 5d. per lb.; and the prices of other articles in common use were proportionate. Sydney, in the vicinity of which were the principal settlements, was at this time greatly dependent upon Van Diemen's Land for supplies of wheat and flour. Much of the grain-growing land in

New South Wales, especially that adjacent to Sydney, had gone out of cultivation through exhaustion, and the increased interest taken in the raising of stock superseded agriculture to a considerable extent, and a period of scarcity at once threw the parent colony on the grain resources of the island.

At the beginning of the year 1840 the price of flour in Sydney ranged from £30 to £41 per ton, and wheat was selling at 12 shillings to 13 shillings per bushel; but as the year advanced wheat went steadily up in price, and the 4-lb. loaf was one shilling and six pence (1s. 6d.). Quotations for butcher's meat in the carcase were as follows:—Beef, 7d. per lb.; mutton, 5½d.; and pork, 10d. In the month of August flour at Sydney mills ranged from £30 to £31 per ton for seconds.

There was a general decline in the prices of provisions in 1842, when beef in the towns ranged from 2½d. to 4d. per lb., and mutton from 2d. to 3d. The price of flour during the same period ranged from £14 to £24 per ton. In 1843 meat was sold at 1d. per lb., and tea at 1s. 8d. per lb. At the end of the year wheat was selling in Sydney at 4s. 6d. per bushel, while the prices in the other Australian cities were as follows:—Hobart, 3s. 9d.; Melbourne, 3s. 6d.; and Adelaide, 2s. 6d. per bushel.

House-rent and lodgings were very high-priced in Sydney, although in the country districts they were reasonably cheap. A house suitable for the residence of a mechanic and his family cost from 15s. to 18s. per week. From the census of 1841 it would appear that the demand for residential accommodation so considerably exceeded the supply, that people were compelled to take up their quarters in habitations still in the hands of the builder, no less than

809 such dwellings being occupied prior to their completion. In the country districts a hut suitable for the residence of an agricultural labourer cost to erect about £10; but it was, of course, a very inferior description of building.

Notwithstanding the salubrity of the climate, and the reiteration of different writers as to the small amount of clothing necessary to be worn in New South Wales as compared with the United Kingdom, labourers, and particularly agricultural labourers, required a quantity of strong clothing, apart altogether from any question of climate; and this in the year 1840, when wages were regarded as being particularly high, was fairly expensive. In 1842, when wages had fallen considerably, the cost of clothing still remained sufficiently high to constitute a serious drain on the earnings of a man in receipt of 6s. to 7s. per day, or from £19 to £20 per year with rations. According to a list of prices, bearing date 30th June, 1842, the following quotations represent the cost of the most necessary articles of clothing, and of some other goods, on that date:—

MEN'S CLOTHING.

	£ s. d.
Coloured shirts, each.....	0 3 3
Flush trousers, per pair.....	0 12 0
Moleskin trousers, per pair.....	0 12 0
Moleskin jackets, each.....	0 12 0
Straw hats, each.....	0 5 0
Boots, per pair.....	0 10 0
Socks, per pair.....	0 1 6
Vests, each.....	0 4 0
Shepherd's coats, each.....	1 10 0
Handkerchiefs, each.....	0 1 0

WOMEN'S CLOTHING.

	£ s. d.
Chemises, each.....	0 5 0
Petticoats, each.....	0 10 0

Gowns (print), each.....	0	10	0
Bonnets and caps (print), each.....	0	9	3
Shawls, each.....	0	10	0
Aprons, each.....	0	2	0
Stockings, per pair.....	0	2	6
Shoes, per pair.....	0	7	6
Stays, per pair.....	0	15	0
Merino dresses, each.....	1	5	0

OTHER GOODS.

	£	s.	d.
Blankets, per pair	0	12	0
Rugs, each.....		5	0
Mattresses, each.....	0	12	0

Clothing was, however, the only thing which the yearly servant was obliged to purchase, abundance of the common necessaries of life, such as meat, tea, and sugar, together with a hut to live in, being provided by the employer. From £7 to £10 per year might be allowed for the purchases of such rough clothing as was necessary for bush wear; hence although the cost of living had increased considerably, the ultimate wages that remained to the labourer were higher during this period than at any time since the foundation of the colony. These rates were not, however, long maintained. The opening years of the period were marked by the floating of assurance, auction, steam navigation, and other joint stock companies, and by general speculative activity. Capital for investment on behalf of English companies and on private account was abundant. The cessation of transportation, however, though it ultimately proved advantageous to the community, had an immediate result in stopping the expenditure in the colony of large sums from the British Exchequer, and the effects of this cessation of expenditure became visible almost simultaneously with a reaction after the inflation of 1839 and the following

year. Prices fell, property became depreciated in value, and ruin impended. The action of the Government helped to bring matters to a crisis. The proceeds of the land sales, amounting at one time to fully £350,000, were lodged in the banks, and the highest rates of interest were exacted; hence the banks were obliged to re-issue in discounts the proceeds of these identical sales, the original purchase money for which was represented by paper. When the bounty system of immigration was at its height, the Government drew out their deposits almost as rapidly as they had lodged them. This action obliged the banks suddenly to restrict their discounts, and gave the initial downward impulse to the money market.

It was the fashion of the time to attribute all the reverses suffered by the colony to the cessation of the system of assignment of bond labour; but this was obviously not the case, although it cannot be denied that the condition of affairs was temporarily made more acute by the policy of Government. Repudiation was the order of the day, and hundreds availed themselves of the insolvency law, which came into operation on the 1st February, 1842, and which was designated by the satirists of the time as "Burton's Purge," in allusion to the author of the legislation. A list of the insolvents in Sydney and its neighbourhood, from the last mentioned date to the 4th August of the same year, a period of six months, included the names of 392 persons and firms. The liabilities of some of the estates were, considering the times, enormous, ranging from five to ten, twenty, thirty, forty and fifty thousand pounds, while one failure was for £175,235. The total amount of the liabilities of these 392 insolvents was,

in round numbers, a million and a quarter sterling, although many of them were able to show good assets. From the 1st of February, 1842, to the 31st December, 1843, the insolvents numbered no less than 1,135; and of these six hundred belonged to the eleven months ending the 31st December, 1842, and 535 to the succeeding year. During 1843 a local ordinance was passed for the abolition of incarceration for debt, and came into operation on the 1st April of the same year. At Port Phillip matters had reached very much the same condition as at Sydney. In 1840 the community had given itself up to most reckless speculation, and traders hitherto respected for the caution of their methods, developed the mania of gambling. There was a veritable boom in land, and allotments which had brought reasonable prices at the sales two years before, changed hands over and over again at absurdly high figures; and it is stated on good authority that the valuation of the site of the city of Melbourne was greater on paper early in 1841 with a population of only 4,500 than just before the gold discoveries when the population had reached 23,000. The inevitable crash came with more than usual suddenness. Properties of all kinds were forced into the market, and, as at Sydney, bankruptcy became universal.

These failures caused credit to sustain a general and severe shock; there was an extreme contraction of the ordinary course of trade, a total absence of speculation in business, and consequently, a great diminution in the amount of legitimate transactions. Vigorous efforts were made to realise funds for the discharge of existing debts, and property was forced into the market for sale until purchasers could hardly be found at any price, and the inevitable

result was that persons known to be possessed of large properties were unable to meet their engagements. In most of the country districts orders on Sydney agents were the medium of circulation used by the settlers, and when these no longer passed current, as in times of confidence and prosperity, specie (which did not really exist) was demanded, and thus great sacrifices were rendered compulsory, because property, though of intrinsic worth, possessed no exchangeable value. Historians of the period narrate cases of enforced sales in which sheep fetched very small prices, sometimes as little as 6d. being obtained for them, while cattle occasionally realised as little as 7s. 6d., and valuable horses only £3 each.

As stated in a former chapter, the Legislative Council, imagining that the very existence of the colony was threatened by the prevailing state of things, sought to "avert ruin" (to use their own expression) by "pledging the public credit," but the Governor refused the Royal assent to the Bill passed for that purpose.

It was then proposed to issue Treasury Bills, but the Council would not entertain the idea. The failure of the Bank of Australia, the liability of whose shareholders was unlimited, brought affairs to a crisis, and it was proposed to relieve the shareholders by a Bill empowering the bank to dispose of its assets by a public lottery. No attempt was made to defend lotteries in general, but it was contended that if the goods of proprietors of the bank were seized under execution, the bailiff would be seen in possession of one house in every ten in Sydney, and the result would be a panic which would altogether annihilate the value of property.

Under pressure of such an argument as this, the "Lottery Bill" was passed, but was disallowed by the British authorities. The necessity of the case was so urgent, however, that the lottery took place, and was successfully completed before the law officers of the Crown could interfere to prevent it.

When matters were at their worst, and the price of sheep had fallen, as a common quotation, to one shilling per head, there was begun what was hailed as a great discovery, viz., the boiling down of sheep exclusively for tallow, for which product there was then a good market in Europe. The price of sheep was thus raised to 3s. or 4s. per head, 5s. or 6s. worth of tallow being obtained by the process of boiling down. Consequently, in a brief space of time tallow began to occupy a chief place as an article of export with wool and coal. Other staple products were sperm oil, black whale and sea-elephant oil, seal skins, wattle bark, salt beef, hides, sheep skins, and kangaroo skins. As showing the importance of the tallow industry to the struggling settlements, it may be mentioned that in 1843 the value of this staple exported from Sydney and Port Phillip was only £396, while seven years later the value had risen to the respectable total of £320,720, representing the product of 798,780 sheep and 261,000 cattle boiled down.

Commercial relations were opened up during the period with Hong Kong, as well as with British India; and the trade, which was principally in horses, was of a profitable character. For some of the general exports of the colony, the prices ruling in the London market in the year 1840 were as follow:—Bark (*mimosa*), per ton, £11 to £12; gum (*kino*), per cwt., £20 to £30; hides, per lb., 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

to 4½d.; oil (southern), per tun, £24 to £25, 10s.; sperm oil, per tun, £110 to £111; whalebone, per ton, £135; wool, per lb., 10d. to 2s. 7d.; and cedar, per foot, 4½d. to 5½d. During the year 1839, the exports of the product of the southern fisheries comprised 12,029 tuns of black oil, valued at £41,341, despatched principally to Great Britain; and 12,079 tuns of sperm oil, valued at £111,280, besides whalebone, £16,004. In the year 1840 the product of the fisheries exported was valued at £224,144, while the wool exported was valued at £566,112. Towards the close of the period the whale and seal fisheries became gradually diverted from Sydney control into the hands of Americans, who subsequently absorbed almost the entire industry in southern waters. Some of the products of the fisheries continued to find their way to Sydney and Hobart for re-export after the industry ceased to be prominently Australasian, but even this advantage to these ports was lost shortly after the gold discovery. Allusion has been made to the foundation of South Australia. The theory of colonisation propounded by the founders seemed so excellent as to claim many adherents in England. The merits of the theory had little chance to show themselves, as from the start the settlement was in financial difficulty, and within five years everything connected with it was in a deplorable condition. From bankruptcy the infant colony was saved by the discovery, in 1843, of rich mineral deposits, especially of copper, at Kapunda, and in 1845 the great Burra-Burra mine was opened, from which about £700,000 worth of copper was won in the first three years of operations. Every industry benefited by the discovery, and in 1843, when New South Wales and Victoria

were in great straits, South Australia was entering on a period of prosperity.

Although the year 1843 ushered in a period of depression and long-continued distress, an intermittent system of immigration was carried on, but not nearly to the extent desired by the settlers. Nevertheless, while the Legislative Council was petitioning for the continuous introduction of a supply of shepherds and agricultural labourers, the Government was compelled to give employment by way of relief to a great number of labourers. Many workers left Sydney for Valparaiso and other places, and a fair number departed from Port Phillip for the Cape of Good Hope. The probability is that it was not labour which was hard to obtain, but "cheap" labour, and to meet this demand various expedients were resorted to, the one finding most favour being the proposal, revived from time to time, to introduce Hill coolies from India. This proposition was, however, not only opposed by the people of the colony, but, as before stated, the Secretary of State refused to it the sanction of the British authorities.

The demand for labour at this period was confined almost wholly to shepherds and other pastoral workers and domestics. The Governor, in despatches under date of August and September, 1843, stated that in Sydney considerable numbers of workmen had been thrown out of employment in consequence of the check the building trade had received, by the general pecuniary distress and the reduction in house rents, and he added that the arrival of immigrants in any great numbers under such circumstances must prove injurious to all parties. The policy pursued by the Legislature, which represented exclusively the in-

terests of the propertied class, was to promote competition in the ranks of labour by excessive immigration, but as the sales of the waste-lands of the colony had practically ceased and there was no other fund from which the passage of immigrants could be paid, the Government could not, if it so desired, carry out the wishes of the Legislative Council.

Many of the large stockholders of this period were enthusiastically in favour of a return to the old system of the assignment of bond labour, although the inhabitants of the towns were naturally just as keen opponents, as the property-owners were advocates, of that policy. The British Government would willingly have fallen in with the views of the stockholders, but the objections of the rest of the community had to be considered. A scheme of compromise was, therefore, proposed. Offenders were not to be sent direct to the colony to serve their sentences, as was the case under the old transportation system; the direct penalty of their crimes was to be enforced in the English hulks, and when this was over they were given tickets-of-leave and sent on a sojourn of a reformatory character to the colony. The scheme pleased no section of the community, although it did not lack influential local advocates. In the colony it was generally argued that the adoption of such a system must utterly destroy the value of free labour and annihilate wages, while the mere fact that New South Wales had managed to slip her early shackles was held by many to be a sufficient reason for resisting any attempt to re-impose them, no matter what euphemism might be adopted to cloak the movement.

A considerable number of the flock-masters held the view—a perfectly reasonable one—that while

the morals of the probationers would be no better, and probably, on account of the greater license, much worse than that of the assigned servants of a former day, their own punitive control over their labourers would be very much less. The free immigrants, compelled to work for their living as employees of others, scented dangerous competitors whose introduction into the colony might result in a depreciated wage; and the employers who happened to be of the emancipated class saw only the revival of a caste reproach, and the recrudescence of hated social distinctions. It must not, however, be imagined that Lord Stanley and Earl Grey acted with any special inconsiderateness in continuing the transportation of convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. The great employers, the absorbers of "abundant and cheap labour," were the real rulers of the country. From their ranks were chosen the members of the Legislative Council; they had the ear of the Governor; and the Governor, in turn, had the ear of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, while the English authorities were only too anxious to relieve the overcrowded condition of their gaols. Two powerful interests, therefore, were allied in an effort to re-establish transportation and the system of assignment. To meet this threatening combination, a number of public meetings were held in Sydney under the auspices of the Anti-transportation League, and an overwhelming expression of popular opinion, most vehemently adverse to the scheme, was given; nevertheless the British Government, under the advice of Sir Charles Fitzroy, persisted in its endeavours to force prisoners upon the unwilling inhabitants of the colony.

Several ship-loads of convicts were sent out, and an attempt was made to land them at the new settlement at Port Phillip. The settlers there, however, would not tolerate the proceeding, whereupon the ships were compelled to leave for Sydney and Moreton Bay. One of the vessels, named the *Hashemy*, cast anchor in Port Jackson, on the 8th June, 1849, and there instantly ensued a serious contest between the inhabitants and the Executive. The Executive so far triumphed that the convicts were landed, but as they were the last to land on Australian shores, the ultimate victory was with the colonists.

With the discontinuance of the transportation system, the immigrant became an object of greater attention than ever before. Various schemes were mooted by the sheep and cattle breeders to procure labour at the old rates. One of these schemes was the introduction of expired-sentence men from Van Diemen's Land, and associations were formed for the purpose, both in the parent colony and at Port Phillip. That the efforts of the associations were not ineffective is proved by the fact that in 1847 the number of persons leaving Van Diemen's Land for the other colonies amounted to 4,787; in 1848, to 3,799; in 1849, to 4,617; in 1850, to 4,146; and in 1851, to 6,931; or a total for five years of 24,280.

A curious feature of this period is to be found in the return to England of expired-sentence men. While the Government were vainly petitioning for immigrant labour, the expense of the introduction of which they were prepared partially to bear, acclimatised and experienced workers were leaving the colony as rapidly as they could, and paying their own passage-money to the Mother Country.

About the year 1849, the emigration from Australia to California, which had set in as a result of the discoveries of gold in that State, began to grow more and more noticeable. In 1850, the desire to emigrate to California had become general, and the most stringent regulations were found to be necessary to prevent overcrowding on the outgoing vessels. During the first six months of 1851, twelve ships left Port Jackson, conveying to the new gold-fields of America 1,684 passengers, many of whom had been introduced into the colony at the expense of the land fund. This migration was not, however, a real exodus. Numbers of genuine settlers doubtless left the country during the long period of depression, dazzled by a rising star of fortune in the East; but many who left the colony were persons who had simply made the bounty system of emigration to Australia the means of proceeding at a smaller cost to the gold-fields in western America. In 1851, when gold was discovered also in Australasia, the tide of immigration to the colony not only set in, in a steady volume, but the impulse to emigrate from Australia was arrested, and California, in the matter of population, ceased to profit at Australia's expense.

Wages varied very considerably during the period under review. Different contemporary authorities give different accounts; but the rate of wages depended, no doubt, upon the distance of a district from the seaport, and its accessibility to Sydney or to Melbourne. In the Port Phillip District, for instance, wages appear to have been higher at this time than in New South Wales proper, and they varied very much even in the parent colony. In the southern districts, during the year 1843, station serv-

ants, hut-keepers, and shepherds received £18 per annum with rations; in the more central districts shepherds' wages ranged from £15 to £20 per annum together with rations; and the wages of some class of farm labourers, such as good ploughmen, from £20 to £25. Domestic servants received from £12 to £15 and even £20 "according to abilities." The wages of artisans were, in 1845, quoted at rates varying from 2s. 6d. a day to 4s. 6d. a day; and employment, moreover, even at such low remuneration, was exceedingly difficult to obtain. In 1849, while the mechanics of Sydney were suffering great distress for lack of employment in their respective trades, and were being roughly censured by the local press because they would not go into the bush and labour as hut-keepers and "rouse-abouts," newly-arrived immigrants were being engaged at the following rates:—Single girls as domestics, 5s. per week and rations; general farm-labourers, from £16 to £18 per year and rations; and ploughmen at from £20 to £25 per year and rations, house, water and fuel found. In some cases experienced shepherds, who thoroughly knew the conditions of the climate, and the variations of pasturage, received £30 a year and rations. In the year 1850 stockmen and shepherds received from £15 to £18 a year; bullock-drivers and ploughmen, from £18 to £20; and male domestic servants from £17 to £22; in all cases, of course, inclusive of rations, lodgings, fuel and water.

Rations, valued at about £12 per annum, were supplied to such employees as station servants, hut-keepers and shepherds. The weekly ration comprised 10 lbs. meat, 10 lbs. flour, 2½ lbs. sugar, some tobacco, and $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. tea. If wages were low, so also

were provisions and the cost of living was very considerably reduced, bread selling at 2½d. to 3d. the 2-lb. loaf; meat from 1½d. to 2d. per lb.; sugar, from 2½d. to 3d. per lb.; and wheat, from 4s. to 6s. per bushel; while dairy produce and vegetables were plentiful and cheap and house-rents very much reduced.

About the beginning of the year 1844 some slight reaction was experienced in trade, and the depressed state of local interests was felt to be reviving. Contemporary writers hailed the new year as a fresh starting-point for renewed enterprise and confidence; but, unfortunately, the condition of things was in no way improved, and the depression shortly afterwards became more pronounced than ever. Australasia, however, had no exceptional experience, and there is little doubt that the local disasters were but the back-wash of the waves of depression which rose in Europe. Throughout the whole of the eastern colonies the greatest distress was felt, and many mercantile houses whose credit had hitherto been undoubted, and who proudly dated their establishment from the foundation of the settlements, were laid prostrate.

Boiling-down, meat-canning, and other devices were resorted to in order to revive the commerce of the colony from the stagnation and lethargy into which it had fallen, yet notwithstanding all expedients affairs steadily became gloomier, prices continued seriously to decline, and speculation was practically at a standstill. It is difficult to imagine to what depths the colony might have sunk had it not been for the discovery of gold in 1851, when the face of everything, as if at the word of a magician, became instantly changed, although the full influ-

ence of the discoveries was not felt until the following year.

The industries during this period comprised sheep and cattle-breeding, whaling and sealing, coal-mining, horse-breeding, general and dairy farming and timber getting. Boiling down sheep and cattle for their fat was, of course, only an effort to realise something on depreciated stock—an expedient which cannot be regarded as a legitimate industry at all; while the southern whale fisheries were passing into the hands of the Americans. From time to time small vessels were sent to collect trepang on the northern coast, and this was subsequently exported to China, where it commanded a ready market; but it appears that the industry was not sufficiently remunerative, and it was, therefore, allowed to fall off. The production of tallow, just prior to the discovery of gold, was, to all intents and purposes, the colony's staple industry. In the fall of the year 1847 a local journal bewailed the fact that the production of a yearly output of 10,000 tons of tallow necessitated the slaughtering of 75,000 head of cattle (sufficient to feed 90,000 people for one year at the proportion of 10 lbs. meat per week each), and 400,000 sheep (sufficient to feed 40,000 people).

In regard to manufactures the colonies were making some progress. There were numerous mills for grinding and dressing grain, 2 distilleries, 21 breweries, 2 sugar refineries, 18 soap and candle works, 4 tobacco factories, 6 cloth mills, 40 tanneries and numerous other works necessary in a community so far removed from Europe and to which the freight of goods was so high.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FOURTH INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1852-1858.

THE fourth period of Australia's industrial history extends from the year 1852 to 1858, and is properly the period of gold-hunting throughout the eastern Australian colonies. It begins shortly after the separation from the mother colony of the Port Phillip District, and its formation into a separate province under the name of Victoria, and closes just after a subsequent dismemberment, in which originated the northern colony of Queensland. The whole epoch may be summarised as one of rapid growth and great change, ushered in with the rush for gold, and ending with the subsidence of the intense excitement and the stoppage of immigration. The epoch is chiefly interesting politically on account of the initiation of responsible government in all the colonies except Western Australia, and commercially, because of the construction of the first railroads, and the establishment of steam communication with Great Britain—the *Chusan*, the first steamer from England, arrived in Sydney on 31st August, 1852.

The discovery of gold not only put an end to the depression of the previous period, but it prepared Australasia, by the creation of fictitious values, for another depression, and effected a revolution in all industrial relations.

According to contemporary evidence, the supply of

labour in many occupations speedily became exhausted, and there were more persons desirous of hiring labourers than there were labourers to be hired. The diggings drained not only Melbourne and Sydney, but Adelaide, Hobart, and every other Australian centre. Most branches of industry and all public works were at a stand-still. As bearing upon the same question, it is interesting to note that the number of persons who found employment in pastoral pursuits rapidly fell off, notwithstanding the very considerable increase in the number of sheep and cattle depastured.

The decrease in the number of hands was not due to improvements effected in the management of station properties, but to the desertion of shepherds and persons tending cattle, who left the uneventful life of the pastoralists to join in the search for gold, principally in the colony of Victoria, which province had absorbed from New South Wales in the space of three years over 30,000 persons, chiefly able-bodied adults, who had crossed the River Murray to the gold-fields of the south. From Tasmania there was even a greater exodus, for it is estimated that while there were nearly 40,000 adult males in the colony in 1842, twelve years later the whole adult male population of the settlement numbered only 22,000. From Adelaide, which had grown prosperous under the influence of the copper production and farming development, the diggings drew over 15,000 men, and the town, which needed the whole of its population, received a heavy blow. Half the houses were left tenantless, and the streets were almost deserted and business was brought almost to a stand-still. Property became unsaleable and there was general financial embarrassment. The output of gold

reached its highest point in 1853, when gold valued at £14,500,000 was won, mainly in Victoria.

It is not to be supposed that so many thousand persons drawn from the four quarters of the globe would all settle down peacefully to search for the precious metal, or that a newly established government such as was that of Victoria would find itself prepared for the extraordinary condition of affairs which the gold rush developed. The nature of a digger's life is such that he is little disposed to brook restraint, while the traditions of government which those in power in Victoria were trained in were arbitrary in the extreme. The most vexatious restraints were placed by the authorities on the miners and mining, and the miners naturally resisted. The Government persisted in maintaining their regulations and the officials became more arbitrary in putting them in force, so that the diggers were at length driven to armed resistance, culminating in the sanguinary episode of the Eureka Stockade, an account of which is given in another place.

The gold fever brought to Australia not only young, stalwart, enterprising men of great endurance, and capable of adapting themselves to almost any conditions of life, but also multitudes of others whose chief idea was that wealth could be acquired almost without exertion. Unable to endure the hardships of a digger's lot, without trade or profession, and capable of only the lightest manual labour, they mostly drifted back to Melbourne and Sydney, where a large number of unemployed had gathered together in 1858, when the rush to the Port Curtis gold-field broke out. Joining the unemployed from the mines of Victoria and New South Wales, they rushed in thousands to the new field, no less than 4,000 leaving

Sydney in the space of a month, while 6,000 went from other parts of Australia. A few weeks sufficed to show that the Port Curtis gold-field could not maintain so many, and in the latter part of the year the majority left for the population centres of the south, where they roamed the streets disappointed and unemployed, until drawn away by the attraction of other rushes.

The great majority of the persons who remained in Australia after the excitement of the first great rushes had subsided were men in every way to be welcomed as colonists.

Victoria especially gained a most desirable class, the survivors of whom may now be seen in the splendid old men so frequently seen in the streets of Melbourne.

The rates of remuneration for ordinary labour during the whole period were very much higher than had ever before been experienced, and many branches of industry were abandoned or neglected for lack of men to carry them on. In Adelaide, for instance, wages were not only daily advancing, but settlers were glad to hire the aborigines of the colony to gather in their crops. In Victoria, carpenters, wheelwrights, and bricklayers received, in 1853, 15s. per day, with board and lodging; carpenters, in town without board and lodging, 28s. per day, and in the country, 22s. 6d.; masons, in town, without board and lodging, 26s. 9d. per day, and in the country 25s.; bricklayers, in town and in country, without board and lodging, 25s. per day; and smiths and wheelwrights, in town and in country, 22s. 6d. per day.

In 1854 the rates of wages ruling were quoted as follows:—Smiths, in country, 20s. per day; masons, in country, 22s. 6d.; wheelwrights, in country, 24s.,

and in town, 30s.; carpenters, in country, 23s., and in town, 25s.; and bricklayers, in country, 25s., and in town, 30s., without board and lodging, in each case.

But in Victoria wages were much higher than in other parts of Australia in consequence of the continuance of the mining boom and the absorption of nearly all enterprises and all available labour in the one direction of gold-getting.

To illustrate the vast change which a few years had made, the rates for 1851, the year of the gold discovery, and 1854, when wages were higher, are here given side by side:

MALES PER DAY, WITHOUT BOARD AND LODGING.

Trade or calling.	1851. s. d.	1854. s. s.
Bricklayers.....	6 0	25 to 30
Blacksmiths.....	6 8	20 to 25
Carpenters.....	6 5	15 to 20
Coopers.....	6 0	15 to 20
Cabinetmakers.....	6 5	15 to 20
Farriers.....	6 5	12 to 15
Plumbers and glaziers.....	6 0	16 to 20
Joiners.....	6 5	17 to 20
Ironfounders.....	6 3	16 to 20
Locksmiths.....	6 0	18 to 22
Quarrymen.....	4 6	18 to 21
Shoemakers.....	6 0	14 to 22
Wheelwrights.....	6 4	18 to 20
Plasterers.....	7 6	25 to 30
Painters.....	5 0	13 to 16-8
Stonemasons.....	7 8	25 to 30

FEMALES, PER ANNUM, WITH BOARD AND LODGING.

	£	£	£
Cooks.....	16 to 25		28
Housemaids.....	14 to 18		22
Laundresses.....	7 to 12		28
Nursemmaids.....	9 to 15		18
General servants.....	14 to 18		28
Farm-house servants.....	13		25
Dairy-women.....	13		25

The prices of all kinds of provisions and all articles of clothing were, during this golden era, largely increased; indeed, there was hardly a commodity in the market, whether an article of use or a luxury, the price of which might not be described as "fancy." In 1853 bread sold at 3½d. to 4d. per lb., but certain lines of provisions were fairly reasonable; for instance, tea was quoted at 1s. 4d. per lb., sugar at 3½d., fresh meat at 3d., butter at 1s. 3d., potatoes at 6s. per cwt., brandy at 23s. per gallon, and imported beer at 5s. per gallon; flour, however, was quoted at 3d. per lb., the price per ton ranging between £20 and £27. These prices were in Sydney; on the gold-fields the rates were double.

House-rent rose, of course, with the influx of population, the number of persons requiring residential accommodation being so much in excess of habitable dwellings that the census of 1856 enumerates a large number of houses as being in occupation, although still in the hands of the builder; while on all the gold-fields and the roads leading thereto there was a large population whose only habitations were calico tents, drays, or rough houses of bark or slabs.

The eight or nine years characterised by the rage of the gold-fever exercised a very great effect on the economic condition of the working classes, for had there been no discovery of gold it is not improbable that, with respect to both the standard of living and the remuneration of labour, the conditions existing prior to 1850 would have long remained without any great change for the better. In those days the standard of labour in England was the practical test of the condition of the working classes in Australia, who were thought well off simply because their earnings

enabled them to enjoy comforts beyond the reach of their fellows in the Old World. Since the gold era this has been changed, and the standard now made for themselves by Australian workers has no reference to that of any other country. The attractions of the gold-fields have also a marked subsequent effect upon the industries of an absolutely different character. Many men, of all sorts of trades and professions, who were drawn to these shores by the prospect of acquiring enough of the precious metal to ensure their independence, remained in the country, and pursued less exciting and less precarious callings, while gold-miners themselves in many cases ceased the exploitation of the mineral which was to have made them rich, and turned their attention to the winning of silver, copper, tin, coal, and other minerals.

Another effect of the gold rush must not be lost sight of. Although both New South Wales and Tasmania had ceased to be places open to the reception of British convicts, yet these colonies were permeated with social and economic ideas begotten of the transportation era. The men who had been convicts, or were born of convict parents, were a considerable element in the population, while the employers had, for the most part, at one period or another of their career, been masters of bond labour. A few years changed all this. It was as if Australia had been newly discovered; certainly the country was re-colonised, and the bond population and their descendants became a small minority of the population which every year made more insignificant, until at the present day it is only in out-of-the-way corners that there is anything to remind the observer that

New South Wales and Tasmania were at one time penal settlements.

The development of the pastoral industry made further and further migrations inland a matter of necessity. In the first years of Australian history the coastal belt only was available, but with the crossing of the Blue Mountains, in 1813, a new horizon stretched before the pastoral imagination, and with each successive discovery by Oxley or Cunningham or Mitchell or Hume plain was added to plain of pasture, and the paths of the explorers were dotted with chains of squattages.

In the earliest years of pastoral settlement it was customary for stock-breeders to drive their herds to the nearest unoccupied good country when they increased beyond the grazing capabilities of their pasturages. In this manner the river courses in the western districts became stocked, and the country bordering them occupied. The practice came into vogue when cattle were decreasing in value, and when, therefore, it was absolutely necessary to breed them at the least expense. These herds were, however, inferior in strain; they frequently became wild and unmanageable, and it was only with the influx of population during the gold-fever days, when high prices were paid for meat, that they acquired any value. The cattle, nevertheless, showed that the interior country was good for stock-grazing, and proved that the land which had hitherto been regarded as a desert was very fattening pasture—for they had discovered "salt-bush," a fodder plant which retains its vitality when other kinds of herbage have long withered away. The grazing value of the river country, or Riverina, has never since been challenged.

There were three great waves of pastoral settle-

ment. The first, to which allusion has already been made, flowed over the inland plains between the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. The second rolled farther north, and beyond the occupied country, as far as the central basin of the continent. The third went still northward to the downs of Queensland. The first migration of stock arose from the demand for meat made by the gold-diggers. The success of this pioneer movement inspired the second experiment, which was prompted by the demand for wool. The third essay in pastoral settlement was occasioned by the increasing value of all squatting property. The growth of the pastoral industry has already been adverted to and also the influence that the gold discoveries had upon it—on the one hand retarding its development by depriving it of labour, and on the other hand, encouraging it by the creation of a demand for carcase meat. The effect of these two opposite influences was seen in the diminution in the number of sheep depastured in 1861 as compared with 1851. There was, it is true, an increase in cattle, but such increase was mainly in the recently occupied country of Queensland, though there was some increase in certain districts of Victoria specially adapted for carrying large stock.

Agriculture was greatly neglected during the days of the gold-fever; indeed, in Victoria it seemed for a few years as if cultivation would die out altogether, but in 1855 there was everywhere a recovery and far more attention was devoted to the land than at any previous period.

Population increased threefold, and trade rose with a bound from less than 9 millions sterling in 1851 to over 52 millions ten years later, these figures being

the value of imports and exports taken together in the years stated, and represent £42 per inhabitant in 1861 as compared with £18, 10s. in 1851.

One industry was completely blotted out by the desertion of old employments following on the gold discoveries. The product of the southern fisheries, which in the early forties had reached the respectable total of £225,000, not counting the takes of foreign ships, fell to £70,000 in 1848. This was a low figure, but in 1858 the exports of the fisheries had sunk to £1,450; in 1859 to £532; and in 1860 to £136. With the last-named year the industry, round which clusters so many historical associations and which is so peculiarly reminiscent of the early days of Australian settlement, practically disappears, although a few trifling essays have been made, from time to time, to revive it in southern waters. During the period of the gold discoveries Victoria acquired the leading position amongst the colonies and Melbourne became the chief city of Australasia, a position which her inhabitants still claim for her. The growth of Melbourne was phenomenal. In 1841 her population was only 4,479, in 1851 it had increased to 23,143, and ten years later to 138,916; nor did the increase cease with the exploitation of the first discoveries and the decline in the gold production, for in 1871 the population of the city had grown to 206,780, in 1881 to 282,947, and more marvellous still to 490,896 in 1891. Very soon after the gold discoveries were made the commerce of the south Pacific gravitated to Melbourne, and during a single month as many as 152 ships arrived in Port Phillip conveying thither 12,000 immigrants. None of the other colonies received such an impetus as Victoria, nor will this be difficult to understand when it is

remembered that out of a total quantity of gold valued at £97,472,166 won in Australasia during the ten years from 1851 to 1860, Victoria's share was £86,342,134.

It was not until 1846 that the people of Australasia began to awaken to the advantage of railroad construction. Some pretence was made to construct a line from Sydney to the inland town of Goulburn, but the matter languished, and to Melbourne belongs the honour of the first steam railway opened for traffic, the line from Melbourne to Port Melbourne being opened in September, 1854. Very little progress was made up to 1860, the total mileage opened during three years being only 215, the greater part of this length being in the colony of Victoria. The explanation of the lack of enthusiasm displayed in regard to railway construction in New South Wales may perhaps be found in the fact that the short line from Sydney to Parramatta, fourteen miles in length, cost about £700,000, or £50,000 a mile, six times as much as the original promoters estimated would be required to build the line all the way from Sydney to Goulburn, a distance of 134 miles. Reference has already been made to the opening up of steam communication with England in 1852, during which year the *Chusan*, the *Australia*, and the *Great Britain*, the last-named the largest ship afloat at the time, visited Melbourne and Port Jackson. In 1856 a steam service of anything but a satisfactory character was carried on by the Peninsular and Oriental Company and by the Royal Mail Company; but the days of efficient ocean communication were still to come. These early essays, however, had no small effect in stimulating the colonists to agitate for something better, and proposals were

made for the establishment of a line of mail packets via Panama, but they did not bear fruit till some years later.

The years extending from 1859 to 1862 can hardly be regarded as forming a distinct period in the country's industrial history. During this time the country was undergoing the process of recovery from days of excitement and dreams of chance, when the wealthy speculator of one moment became the beggared adventurer of the next, and the outcast of many years the millionaire of as many months. The community appeared to be vaguely restless, as though beginning to realise that the golden era of their experience was rapidly drifting into a prosaic period of sterner conditions, and slower and more arduous growth. Victoria still made splendid progress, but even there the yield of gold was on the wane, and wages everywhere fell to about half the amount current in the previous period. In New South Wales employment was difficult to obtain, as the industries dislocated by the desertion of employees, who sought fortunes at the diggings, had not recovered their normal condition, while speculation was quiescent. Prices of articles of ordinary consumption fell to reasonable rates and house-rents were greatly reduced. The search for gold was still active in all the colonies, but, except for an occasional rush, it was not prosecuted as a regular industry.

Renewed attention was bestowed upon agriculture, which had been neglected in some of the colonies, and the manufacturing industry made some progress. The epoch closed, for the majority of the community, with a certain measure of hopefulness, induced by the introduction of provisions for free

selection before survey into the land legislation of Victoria and New South Wales. The new principle it initiated had lasting, if not immediately apparent, effect on the condition of the working classes, giving them opportunities for employment not previously open to them. The main principle of the measure which did so much to assist recovery from the dead level conditions that prevailed at the time is embodied in the following clause of the New South Wales Act:—"Any person may, upon any Land Office day, tender to the Land Agent for the district a written application for the conditional purchase of any such lands, not less than forty acres nor more than three hundred and twenty acres, at the price of twenty shillings per acre, and may pay to such Land Agent a deposit of twenty-five per cent. of the purchase money thereof. And if no other application and deposit for the same land be tendered at the same time, such person shall be declared the conditional purchaser thereof at the price aforesaid."

The free selector of any portion of Crown lands had three years' credit for the payment of the remainder of his purchase money. Should he, after that time, be unable or disinclined to make payment, liberty was granted him to defer instalments for an indefinite period on paying five per cent. interest per annum on the principal amount remaining unpaid. It was also provided that the purchaser of any area of land from forty to three hundred and twenty acres should be entitled to three times the extent of his purchase for grazing ground, so long as it should not be claimed by any other free selector. Certain conditions were imposed regarding residence, which came to be more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FIFTH INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1858-1872.

THE fifth period of the industrial history of the colony, extending to the year 1872, was one when the El Dorado dreams of the fifties had faded from men's minds, and when the social and industrial system now existing was evolved. Few incidents calling for special comment marked the history of this epoch, during which the most important variations in the conditions of labour arose from adverse seasons, vast areas having been visited by alternate droughts and floods. The distress and acute suffering which resulted from these truly remarkable vicissitudes of climate were very great, and the destruction of property was in many instances accompanied by loss of life. Australia was not inexperienced either in the matter of floods or of droughts, but the record of such disasters during this period was exceptional.

The alternations of inundation and drought, which marked this period perhaps more than any other in the history of Australasian settlement, had a most baneful effect upon industry. Money was very dear; and the finances of several of the provinces were in anything but a satisfactory condition, and treasurer after treasurer made ineffectual attempts to make both ends meet. The bad seasons, also, had their effect in aggravating the general feeling of depression by discouraging the flow of capital to the soil.

During the keen distress in 1866, the unemployed in Sydney were sorely pressed, and to afford relief a number were sent to Haslem's creek to clear an area of land for the purposes of a cemetery. At the close of a year, just after the report of a special Select Committee on the condition of the unemployed had been published, a rush broke out in the Weddin Mountains, and temporarily drew a great number of the workless away from the city. Towards the end of the period great depression was experienced in commercial circles; little enterprise was manifested in the building trades, and property changed hands at a depreciation in value of about 50 per cent. on the original cost. In Victoria conditions were more satisfactory than in the parent colony. In 1865 a change in the fiscal policy of the country was adopted, and the colony definitely adopted the protective system, to which she has since adhered and in which she has been followed to a more or less extent by all the other divisions of Australia except New South Wales. The finances of the colony were satisfactory, and Victoria during this period took the lead in agriculture, a position she has since maintained. Population increased, and though in 1861 and some of the following years there was an excess of departures over arrivals, the excess was merely a temporary phase of the population movement, as Victoria continued to attract population until the seventies. As South Australia underwent some severe trials during the period, there were several seasons of drought, and the appearance of rust in wheat in years not droughty greatly affected the returns of the farmers, and in consequence commercial business was a good deal depressed. In 1873 and 1877 the overland telegraph line was commenced and completed, which must be looked upon

as a great achievement for the resources of so small a colony. The early years of this period were characterised by an influx of Chinese to such an extent that at one time they formed nearly four per cent. of the total population, and their presence in New South Wales was for long an important factor in democratic and industrial legislation. With the development of the colony, and the increasing richness of the finds of the precious metal, these aliens poured into the country in ever-increasing volume. In 1856 they numbered only 1,806; five years thereafter they had risen in number to 12,988, or thirty-seven per cent. of the population. In 1861 matters with regard to Chinese immigration reached a crisis. The gold-field opened up at Burrangong proved extraordinarily rich; a great rush set in to that place, and crowds of Chinese flocked to the diggings there. The miners received this influx of Asiatic fossickers with very bad grace, and convened a public meeting for the purpose of deciding whether "Burrangong was a European or a Chinese territory."

They likewise addressed a petition to the Assembly complaining of the swamping of the field by thousands of Chinese. This agitation against the alien miners resulted in continuous riotings; the unfortunate foreigners were ejected from their claims, their tents were burned, and they were generally ill-used. The Government, determined to uphold order at any cost, despatched to the scene of the riots, a place called Lambing Flat, a mixed force of artillerymen with two twelve-pound field-pieces, some men of the 12th Regiment, and some members of the mounted police force. The Premier, Mr. Charles Cowper, also visited the field and addressed a monster meeting of the miners, sympathising with

their grievances, but informing them that no redress could be obtained until riot and confusion had entirely ceased. When the Premier returned to Sydney the excitement rapidly ceased; a new rush to a locality named Tipperary Gully lured away 6,000 miners from the scene of their former disputes, and the Chinese departed to other fields. Thus ended the first labour conflict between the Europeans and the Chinese, who from that date onward to the Prohibition Act of 1888 became a growing menace to the character of the settlement of the Australian colonies.

There was a marked decline in the rates of wages during the period, particularly so with regard to those paid to mechanics. In 1864 the average daily wages of carpenters ranged from 8s. to 9s. in town, without board and lodging; of smiths, wheelwrights, and bricklayers, from 9s. to 10s.; and of masons, 10s. In the country, and inclusive of board and lodging, the wages of carpenters, smiths, and wheelwrights were quoted at £50 to £80 per annum, and of bricklayers and masons from £80 to £100; farm labourers, from £28 to £30; shepherds, from £30 to £35; female cooks and laundresses, from £26 to £30; housemaids, from £20 to £26; nursemaids, from £15 to £26; general house servants, from £20 to £30; and farmhouse servants and dairywomen from £18 to £26. There was little change in the wages up to the end of 1871, but what change there was was downwards; the prices of commodities in general use steadily declined and the fall in wages was really not so great as the monetary fall would represent.

In March, 1863, an Intercolonial Conference was held in Melbourne, at which the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania were represented. The questions discussed

related to the tariff and kindred matters; inter-colonial customs and their distribution; transportation from the United Kingdom to the Australian possessions; a permanent immigration fund, to be provided under Act of Parliament by each colony, upon an equitable basis; improvement of internal rivers in Australia for purposes of navigation and irrigation; coast lighthouses, and other maritime questions affecting the shipping interest; fortnightly ocean postal communication; Anglo-Australian and China telegraph; legal questions, including the law of bankruptcy, of patents, of joint stock companies, of probates and letters of administration, a court of appeal for the Australian colonies and a uniform system of weights and measures. These questions subsequently engaged the attention of the various Australian Parliaments, and resulted in the carrying into effect of much useful and needed legislation.

All the colonies were troubled with diseases in their flocks and herds. Sheep were infected with catarrh and scab; pleuro-pneumonia attacked the cattle and pleurisy made its appearance among the horses. Vigorous efforts, which were attended with success, were made to combat the diseases.

Railway construction proceeded very slowly, and at the end of 1871 the total length of line open for traffic was only 1,135 miles. This was due in a great measure to the difficulty experienced by the colonial Treasurers in obtaining money on favourable terms and the expense of construction involved in crossing the mountain barriers.

This was the great bushranging epoch of Australasia which memorises such names as those of Frank Gardiner, the Clarkes, Dunn, Johnny Gilbert, Ben Hall, Morgan, Power, "Thunderbolt," and O'Mal-

ley. New South Wales was the province most troubled by these pests, where their existence was a source of embarrassment to each successive Government, and a standing challenge to every Ministry that accepted office.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIXTH INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1872-1893.

NEW SOUTH WALES AND VICTORIA.

THE twenty-two years 1872-93 were for the wage-earner in many ways the brightest period in Australia's history. The preceding period had been somewhat tame; population was not attracted in any large numbers; land was not taken up by selectors in any great quantity, nor had there been any sustained effort to develop the resources of the country. Railway construction was almost suspended; the expenditure by the various governments on public works, either from revenue or from the proceeds of loans, was small; while little private capital found its way to the country, except in Victoria and South Australia. Agriculture gave little evidence of progress, and the gold yield had greatly declined. There were, however, causes at work which were to affect materially the progress of the country. These were chiefly the revival of mining, the public works policy of the governments and the investment of British capital in the eastern colonies.

New South Wales.

The production of gold in 1872 reached the respectable total of £1,643,582, due to the development of the Hill End and Tambaroora mines. The

copper mines, which had not been worked before to any great extent, were now systematically developed; and in the same year the rich tin deposits of the country received attention. The advantage of the colony as a place of settlement was recognised, especially by persons in the southern colonies. Purchases of land from the State for purposes of settlement proceeded on an extensive scale, and with increased land sales came greater attention to primary industries. Agriculture expanded; and cattle breeding, which had been losing importance since the Land Act of 1861 came into force, received renewed attention. Nor was sheep-breeding neglected, as might have been expected, in favour of the rival industry, for the price of wool was highly satisfactory to the grower, especially during the five years ending 1875. These combined causes made the outlook very bright.

About the year 1872 public attention was awakened to the necessity of pushing on with the construction of railways, roads, and bridges to open up the interior of the country; and an expansive public works policy, involving the expenditure of large sums of borrowed money, was accordingly initiated. In 1872 barely half a million sterling was spent on public works, ten years later the amount had risen to £4,100,000, the additional expenditure alone affording employment to 17,500 men.

Coincident with the vigorous construction of public works, and chiefly on the part of graziers desirous of protecting themselves from the incursions of free selectors, there arose a great demand for land, which was readily responded to by the State, and the public lands were bought up with such eagerness that in the five years from 1872 to 1877 the revenue derived from this source increased from £800,000 to

over £3,000,000 and the public exchequer was overflowing. Wages were high, employment steady, provisions cheap. Numbers of men, for the most part young and energetic, were attracted to the colony by the alluring prospects held out to them, the annual increment to the population being doubled within a few years. To keep pace with the demand for labour the Government maintained a vigorous immigration policy, and in the ten years that closed with 1885 nearly 49,000 persons were assisted to emigrate from the United Kingdom, and were readily absorbed into the general population. In all likelihood industrial conditions would have improved during this period, without any lavish expenditure by the Government, but what was probable was made certain by the favourable combination of circumstances alluded to.

Wages rose rapidly and were well sustained. During the best years carpenters and painters were receiving 11s. per day of eight hours, plasterers and bricklayers 12s. 6d., stone masons 11s. 6d., and labourers and navvies eight shillings, and during the ten years ending with 1891 the wages of the trades mentioned were within one shilling and one shilling and three pence of the quoted rates. Nor was the advance in pay confined to the building trades or to male labour. The wages of farm hands were slightly advanced while the increase in the pay of female servants ranged from forty to seventy-five per cent. An important factor affecting the industrial conditions during the whole period following 1872 was the importation of private capital. During the greater part of its history, New South Wales has been benefited by the introduction of private capital, and in the years prior to 1870 this importation was

chiefly in its most acceptable form, being accompanied by the owners. The amount of private money introduced varied somewhat from year to year, but even as late as 1873 it did not exceed half a million sterling. In 1874 money commenced to flow to the colony for investment purposes, and during the fifteen years which closed with 1890 the extraordinary amount of forty-four millions sterling was received, £6,228,000 coming in 1885, and £5,392,000 in the following year. It can well be imagined that the influx of so large an amount of money, joined to the large expenditure by the State, was felt in every branch of industry. As already pointed out, wages rose twenty-five per cent. in skilled trades, and from forty to fifty per cent. in unskilled trades, and in some years there was not a man in the colony willing to work who was unemployed. The outlay on public works reached a maximum in 1885, when the expenditure was £5,242-807; then came a contraction and in 1888 it was reduced to £2,106,027.

It will be observed from the narrative just given that the largest expenditures by the State occurred in 1885, the same year as that in which the largest amount of private money was brought to New South Wales. From 1885 the import of capital fell off year by year until 1893, when it practically ceased, so that the withdrawal of the State from the labour market was not alleviated by support given by private capital. The following is a statement of the average import of private capital per annum in five-year periods:

1874-78.....	£1,728,600	1884-88.....	£4,039,400
1879-83.....	1,997,200	1889-93.....	1,869,000

The three last years of the period showed as follows:

1891.....	£1,338,000	1893.....	£115,000
1892.....	1,667,000		

There can be no doubt that during many years the amount of capital brought to the colony, both on public and on private account, was much larger than could be profitably absorbed, and no small portion of it was necessarily devoted to purposes purely speculative, as evidenced in the unreal value which some forms of property acquired. There was, however, an evil of greater consequence than a temporary inflation of values. It will be readily conceded that the introduction of capital within the limits of absorption and the application of it to productive purposes are conducive to true progress, while on the contrary the over-introduction of capital, however applied, means arrested progress. Of the twenty-two years comprising this industrial period, 1885 and 1886 witnessed the largest introduction of capital, viz.: £11,470,807 in the former and £10,028,952 in the latter year. It is, therefore, not astonishing to find that the value of domestic produce exported in those two years, when compared with population, was less than in any other year.

In spite, however, of the drawbacks just indicated, flowing from an unnecessary and at times a wasteful expenditure of public money, and the introduction of private money beyond its requirements, New South Wales made substantial progress. At no period, except in the five golden years, 1853-57, were wages so high, and in no period was the purchasing power of money so great. The tide of improvement had reached its highest level during the years 1882-85,

and began to recede in 1886, when employment became difficult to obtain and wages began to fall. In 1886-87, work in some of the southern district collieries was suspended for nearly twelve months owing to strikes and disputes; in 1888 and 1889 the completion of various large public undertakings and the failure of the public revenue led to a reduction of expenditure on works to the extent of three million sterling. This meant the throwing out of employment of some 15,000 men, a not inconsiderable portion of the unskilled labour of the country. To mitigate the distress consequent on the inability of the community to absorb so much labour suddenly thrust upon it, the Government started relief works, and an expenditure of £387,000 was incurred upon them before they were abandoned. Up to the end of 1891 there was little reduction in the nominal rate of wages in skilled trades, though for unskilled labour the rates experienced a decided decline. In 1893 there was a heavy fall all around, and the second half of that year marks the beginning of a new period under vastly changed conditions. Between the average of the first and that of the second half of 1893 there was a fall of about ten per cent. in the wages of mechanics, and a somewhat greater fall in the wages of unskilled labourers. In 1894 there was no further fall, but employment became more restricted. In 1895, however, there was another drop, the wages of the year averaging for skilled workmen twenty-two per cent. below the rates of 1892, and for unskilled labourers about seventeen and one-half per cent. During 1896 wages in several trades rose, and since then there have been some further advances, and generally more regular employment than at any time since the bank crisis.

In 1898 employment in the building trades was plentiful and the wages of masons, bricklayers, and allied trades rose to a point they had not reached since 1889. One result of the crisis of 1893 has been the stoppage of nearly all forms of speculative activity; on the other hand there have been important mining developments and a marked extension of agriculture. From 1891 to 1899 the area under crop was increased by 1,360,000 acres, and the output of gold by 190,000 ounces.

Victoria.

The condition of wages in Victoria may best be described by reference to a few selected trades, viz.: masons, plasterers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths and farm labourers. At the beginning of this period the wages of the building trades had established themselves at about ten per cent. per day, being an advance of perhaps two shillings a day over the rates of 1865, while farm hands were paid from 15 to 20 shillings a week as compared with 12 to 15 shillings per week in 1865. During the five years from 1870 to 1875 wages steadily improved, so that few masons would work for less than eleven shillings per day, while many received as high a wage as twelve shillings; carpenters received ten shillings and eleven shillings, according to skill, and blacksmiths ten to thirteen shillings; most other building trades averaged ten shillings a day. Farm labourers were paid about 17s. 6d. a week with board and lodging, and this remained the standard wage for twenty years. From 1870 to 1890 wages remained fairly steady, but of the series 1883 to 1887

were perhaps the best years. In 1891 there were signs of a fall, although the nominal rates of previous years were still quoted by the trades organisations. In 1892 the actual wages paid were ten per cent. less than in 1891, while in 1893 there was a further decline, making the total fall in two years from thirty to thirty-five per cent. The wages paid per day in 1893 to stone-masons and plasterers were 7s. 8d., to bricklayers and carpenters 6s. 8d., but for blacksmiths the reduction was not so great, the nominal wages being about 10s. per day. There was a further decline in the wages of plasterers and of some other trades, but generally speaking up to the end of 1897 the lower level of wages established for skilled trades in 1893 has been maintained. Farm hands maintained the wages paid in 1891 up to 1894, but in the succeeding year the rates current fell from between 15s. and 20s. to between 12s. 6d. and 15s. per week with board and lodging. The wages of farm hands in 1897 were almost the same as paid in 1865, while the pay of skilled tradesmen with the exception of a few trades were lower even than those of the year named. There is, however, another view of the case. The purchasing power of wages was much greater at the end of the period than at the beginning, the fall in prices from 1865 to 1898 being over forty per cent., and from 1870 nearly twenty-seven per cent., so that one pound in 1898 would purchase as much as £1, 13s. 4d. in 1865, or as much as £1, 7s. 5d. in 1870, and a wage of 6s. 8d. per day in 1898 would be equivalent to over 11s. in 1865, and 9s. in 1870.

The period from 1875 to 1890 was one of great prosperity amongst the working population of the colony; wages were high and employment was

easy to obtain. Even as late as 1891, when there were symptoms of a change in industrial conditions and a restriction in the expenditure of capital, the unemployed numbered only about four and one-half per cent. of the breadwinners of the colony. From 1871 to 1881 there was marked progress in agriculture, the breadth of land under crop being advanced by some 600,000 acres, while the proportion cultivated per inhabitant was increased from a little over one acre to nearly an acre and three-quarters. From 1881 to 1891 the area cultivated per inhabitant remained constant, but as the population had increased there was considerable extension in the total area devoted to the plough. There has of late years been a marked addition both to the area cultivated and to the average per inhabitant: the improvement, however, has been mainly since 1893 when the great crisis in banking occurred. The events of that disastrous period brought the country face to face with the necessity of increasing its production, and the result has been an attention to agriculture, dairying and allied pursuits, which was absent in the days of inflation before the crisis.

Previous to 1871 all the colonies lacked capital for their development; even the expenditure of the State Government from the proceeds of external loans was much below what the conditions of settlement would have warranted. In the five years 1871 to 1875 the Victorian Government and the various local Governments of the colony introduced £3,352,-000, obtained by floating loans in England, and during the same period a little over £1,000,000 was brought to the colony by immigrants who made Victoria their permanent abode. A good deal of private capital was sent to the colony, but a still

larger sum was sent away by residents for investment chiefly to the neighbouring colonies, and withdrawn from investments by non-residents. The excess of investments outside the colony and withdrawals of capital over money sent for investment on private account was about £1,400,000, so that during the five years the colony received about £1,950,000, a sum which was readily absorbed.

During the next five years (1876-1880) the Government imported £5,229,000, and persons taking up their abode in Victoria brought with them £1,600,000; there was also an excess of capital introduced over withdrawals of other capital on private account to the extent of £300,000, so that the actual amount of capital introduced was £7,129,000, a large sum, but not beyond the growing requirements of the colony.

From 1881 to 1885 the Government and local bodies raised loans to the extent of £8,519,000: the immigration to the colony was not large, but it is computed that £2,918,000 was introduced into Victoria by persons taking up their abode there: there were also large introductions of capital on private account aggregating about £1,600,000 in excess of withdrawals in the same period. The total amount of capital brought to the colony was £13,000,000, which gives an average of £2,600,000 a year for the five years. There can be no doubt that even this large sum could be readily and advantageously employed in the colony, if applied to productive pursuits, but in this period was begun the over-speculation in land values which ended so disastrously a few years later.

The five years 1886-1890 marked a very extraordinary period in the history of Victoria. The

Government, which had been for some time increasing its expenditure, obtained over £17,000,000; while on private account more than twice that sum was poured into the colony. It is estimated that in the five years £54,790,000 was introduced, of which only £6,000,000 was accompanied by persons permanently settling in the colony. So prodigious a sum could not be healthily absorbed. Land speculations became very rife, and values rose enormously. In 1884 the total value of property in Melbourne and the various towns and boroughs rateable for local government purposes was £41,000,000; five years later, that is in 1889, the same property stood at £85,000,000, and in 1891 a maximum of £91,000,000 was reached. The increase in rating value between 1884 and 1889 was at the rate of twenty per cent. per annum, and it was on the basis of such increasing prices that properties changed hands. The unsubstantial nature of the increase was found when the banking crisis occurred. From 1891 to 1896 there was a decline in the capital value of rateable property in Melbourne and the various towns and boroughs from £91,000,000 to £66,000,000. Since 1896 there has been a slight advance, the assessment of a later year showing a total of £68,000,000. The inflation of values was not confined to Melbourne or to Victoria; on the contrary it extended to all the provinces except New Zealand and Western Australia, but Melbourne being the centre of Australasian finance was naturally most affected.

The introduction of capital into Victoria continued until the Bank crisis of 1893. The sums obtained by the Government and local bodies from England amounted to £6,500,000 in the years 1891 and 1892. Private capital to the amount of

£8,000,000 also reached the colony either by withdrawal of outside investments or by further additions to the already large deposits obtained in England by the banks. The Bank crisis so often alluded to in these pages occurred in 1893, and the importation of capital both by the State and by financial institutions has since dropped to very moderate dimensions; indeed the Government has practically ceased to borrow in London.

The progress of Victoria up to the beginning of the over-speculation in land was very steady. In 1871 the land under plough was 851,000 acres; ten years later the acreage was nearly doubled; in 1891 it was 2,116,000, and in 1899 only a little short of 3,250,000 acres. This indicates great progress, and the development of agriculture, dairying and mining, which took place even in the time of the boom, when matters were essentially unsound, was so substantial that when the financial crash came the colony was able to sustain the shock and make a sound and complete recovery. It may in truth be said that when the people of Melbourne were enticed away from the maxims of sound progress, the rest of the colony contented itself with steady work on sound lines, with the result, that beyond a short period of inconvenience, it suffered very little from the financial disturbance of the Metropolis.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SIXTH INDUSTRIAL PERIOD, 1872-1893.

QUEENSLAND, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA, AND
WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

THE conditions of employment throughout Australia are such that a demand for labour or the prevalence of higher wages in any part of the continent speedily attracts labour from other parts, and this is not affected by the fact that the labour centres are very far distant from one another. Going from north to south, Brisbane is 530 miles distant from Sydney by the ordinary means of communication. From Sydney to Melbourne by water is 700 miles, and from Melbourne to Hobart 480 miles. Going westward, Adelaide is 600 miles from Melbourne and Perth 1,600 miles from Adelaide; nevertheless a demand for labour in Western Australia speedily attracts labourers from Adelaide, Melbourne and even remote Sydney. At shearing time, when labour is in great demand on the sheep runs of New South Wales and Queensland, there is an annual migration to these colonies from their southern neighbours and New Zealand of labourers who return when the season is over. Such being the mobile conditions of labour, it will be readily understood that the industrial conditions obtaining in the two great colonies of New South Wales and Victoria will be reflected in the other members of the group,

at all events in those avenues of employment not entirely dependent on the variable results of the seasons. What, therefore, has been said of New South Wales and Victoria is in a certain sense applicable to Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania, not, however, to Western Australia, where labour conditions have been subject to different influences.

Queensland.

During the whole period the material progress of Queensland was very satisfactory. The necessity for population was such that, in spite of protests from the Brisbane trades, the Government continued to maintain a vigorous immigration policy. The most ready, if not the most exact, means of gauging the extent of the progress of the colony are the trade returns, and taking exports and imports together, their value in 1871 was £4,322,710, in 1881 £7,603,991, in 1891 £13,384,391, and in 1898 £16,863,393. These figures are an eloquent tribute to the condition of a country numbering less than half a million inhabitants, and are the outcome of the vast and systematic development of its pastoral and mining resources joined to fair progress in agriculture. The peculiar features of the industrial progress of Queensland have been already alluded to in the general history of the colony. It may be well to refer again to the existence of the coloured labour element, in the persons of some 8,600 Pacific Islanders, 7,800 Chinese, and 3,600 other Asiatics. The total 20,000, it is true, amounts to only about four and a quarter per cent. of the whole population, but of this total only 850 are females and the 19,150 males are mainly adults, and represent

about eleven per cent. of the males over fifteen years of age.

From 1870 up to about 1884 wages generally were improving in both the town and country districts of Queensland; then for a few years they remained stationary, the first symptoms of a fall being visible in 1891. In 1893, the year of the Bank failures, the decline became pronounced, and in the following year the rates settled still lower—carpenters who received eleven shillings a day in 1892 were paid ten shillings in 1893, and the following year about eight shillings a day was the recognised wage. Most other mechanical trades were similarly affected, but the wages of general labourers, which were reduced in 1891 from 6s. to 5s. 6d., and from 7s. 6d. to 7s. according to competency, were not materially affected in more recent years. The industrial condition of Queensland was very much influenced during this period by the introduction of capital from abroad. In the earlier years the sums introduced were large, but not beyond the capacity of the colony to absorb. During the five years 1871-75, the Government raised £2,389,000 in England, and private capital to the extent of £1,940,000 was also introduced, making a total of £4,329,000. In the next five years, 1876-80, Queensland received £8,028,000, an enormous sum, considering that the population was not more than 150,000. The money imported by the Government was £4,195,000, and that invested by private persons £3,383,000. Large as was the sum imported by the Queensland Government, it was small by comparison with that obtained by New Zealand, and the facility with which the latter colony was able to raise money on loan was an object lesson not lost on the other

colonies. During the five years 1881-85, the Government of Queensland obtained £6,309,000 from London, while private investments in the same period amounted to £13,291,000, a sum altogether beyond the natural requirements of a population of a quarter of a million. Included in the private investments, however, is the sum of £4,430,000 introduced by immigrants taking up their abode permanently in the colony. The large sum obtained by the Government was, however, exceeded in the five years (1886-90) as its loan expenditure mounted up to £8,793,000. The private capital introduced, however, fell off largely; the sum received, allowing for withdrawals to the amount of £3,360,000, was £2,362,000. Queensland had now received as much private capital as it could conveniently employ, perhaps more than sufficient, as during 1891 and 1892 the colony for the first time in its history showed a withdrawal of capital to the extent of £3,928,000 in excess of capital received on private account. The Government, however, were still borrowers, and introduced £1,917,000, so that the net withdrawal of capital amounted to only £2,011,000. This record is not extended beyond 1892, as the following year was one of utter financial confusion, which baffles any attempts to trace the movements of private capital. It may, however, be noted that the debt of the Queensland Government amounts, according to the latest figures, to £33,600,000, and the sums invested on private account to £20,650,000. The position of Queensland in regard to outside investors is, in a large measure, disclosed by the returns relating to external trade. The imports of the colony for 1898 amounted to £6,007,266, and the exports to £10,856,127, showing an excess of exports equal to

£4,848,861. This excess of exports represents payments by the Government on account of interest on its loans which may be set down roughly as £1,325,000, interest on loans to private persons and return from private investments which cannot be less than £1,700,000, and the balance incomes of absentees and the repayment of indebtedness or withdrawal of capital. The last two items have of late years amounted to a very considerable sum. During the three years 1894-96 it is stated that £10,162,000 was withdrawn by investors or repaid by borrowers, and it is a tribute to the resources and stability of the colony that this withdrawal should have been effected with so small a disturbance to its financial position. No member of the Australian group will enter the new century with a more assured position than Queensland, whose enormous resources only await population for their proper development.

South Australia.

South Australia has played a very different part to Queensland in regard to the industrial development of the continent. South Australian enterprise has been the means of opening up part of Queensland and the western districts of New South Wales, and latterly it has been extended to Western Australia; on the other hand, the sister colonies have had little to do with aiding the development of South Australia. It has been estimated that there is as much capital invested by South Australia in the other colonies as there is English capital employed in the colony itself. This feature of South Australian finance was visible for nearly thirty years, for in the five years 1871-75, although the Government of the

colony obtained £1,722,000, it would appear that private money flowed out of the colony to the extent of £2,661,000, much of this being invested in South and West Queensland. A similar condition of affairs obtained in the next five years (1876-80). The Government borrowed in England very largely, £5,217,000 being thus obtained, while private investments outside the colony and withdrawals of capital on payment of private loans exceeded the capital introduced by £1,644,000. During the years 1881-85 the Government continued borrowing, £5,895,000 being raised and expended in that period; there was also an importation of private capital to the extent of £1,000,000 or thereabouts. In the next five years, 1886-90, the Government was still a borrower, obtaining the large sum of £5,693,000, but private investments were made by South Australian capitalists, outside their own province, to such an extent, that the export of capital on private account exceeded the import to the amount of £3,348,000. The Broken Hill silver fields were discovered in 1883, and the very extensive developments which almost immediately took place were due, in no slight degree, to South Australian enterprise and speculation. The importance of the Barrier traffic, as it is called, to South Australia may be judged from the fact that out of a total import trade of £7,126,385 in 1897, £1,008,119 represented goods from over sea passing through the province on their way to Broken Hill and the western district of New South Wales, and £2,243,071 goods exported from the same districts and passing through South Australia on their way to the sea.

Under the stimulating influence of the borrowing policy of the Government, wages rose, but there have

never been the great extremes in wages in South Australia which have been found in New South Wales and Victoria. Stonemasons, whose wages in 1870 were eight shillings a day, did not average more than nine shillings and six pence, even in the most flourishing period of the following thirty years, and received this wage for only a few years (1875-84). The current wage is now nine shillings a day, which rate has been the average for some ten years. The rates for carpenters are also higher than they were thirty years ago, but, as in the other trades, wages have suffered alteration, from time to time, through the dearth of hands, due to the attractions first of Broken Hill and latterly of Western Australia. The day labourer now receives six shillings per day, which is as high as his wages in 1870, and his lot must be considered as greatly improved, seeing that the prices of all necessaries have fallen greatly during the interval. The highest wages earned by day-labourers were paid in 1874 and 1875, the rate being 7s. 6d. per day; from 1875 to 1891 wages were generally 6s. 6d., but seven shillings were paid in some years; from 1891 onward the prevailing rate has been six shillings.

Tasmania.

Tasmania is one of the least indebted of the Australian group, nevertheless the island colony has had a fair share of attention from British and foreign capitalists. From 1871 to 1875 it received about £1,210,000, of which £220,000 was introduced by the State, and nearly a million by private persons, which must be considered a very considerable sum in view of the smallness of the population. During

the next five years the borrowing was on a very moderate scale, the Government obtaining £671,000 and private investments amounting to only £283,000. From 1881 to 1885 the investments on private account continued small, not exceeding £425,000, which includes moneys introduced by persons taking up their abode in the country; in the same period the Governmental borrowings reached £1,465,000. During the next five years the Government of Tasmania was well represented in the struggle for British money, the State importation being £2,557,000, and the investment by private persons £570,000; of this last sum, however, £85,000 was introduced by persons taking up their residence in the colony. There was no cessation of borrowing on the part of the Government during the years following 1890, but for a time private investments in Tasmania practically ceased. The large developments in mining on the west coast in 1893 and subsequent years caused a fresh demand for capital which was fully obtained. The adult male population of Tasmania is so small in number that no industries on a large scale exist, and no occupations can be cited as typical of the colony. Speaking generally, it may be said that 1870 was the lowest point touched by Tasmania industrially and commercially; from 1870 wages steadily improved (helped in 1883 by the discoveries of gold and tin) until 1893, when the banking crisis affected all phases of business and wages fell to a lower point even than in 1870; but it was a temporary check, for wages have again tended upwards, and all forms of industry are now on a sounder footing than at any former period.

Western Australia.

The position of Western Australia has always been very different to that of the eastern colonies. The only colony with which a parallel can be established is New South Wales. Both colonies had a long period when bond labour was the principal industrial element, and in both colonies the old order of things was radically changed by the gold discoveries. Their parallelism is, however, more apparent than real. New South Wales began its history with a bond population and gladly freed itself from the incubus, whereas Western Australia accepted the position of a penal colony after it had existed for thirty years as a free settlement. New South Wales had its population recruited from the earliest days by a large stream of immigration, whereas immigrants came to the western colony in large numbers only on the discovery of gold. It is true that the gold discoveries very materially affected both colonies, but in New South Wales gold seeking was for a very short period the principal industry and speedily fell in importance not only below grazing and agriculture but below other industries, and latterly below other forms of mining, whereas in Western Australia the search for gold is not only the most important industry now carried on in the colony, but is likely to remain its chief source of wealth.

During the years that Western Australia remained a penal colony the opportunities of free labour were very limited; but, notwithstanding the fact that for a time the withdrawal of Imperial expenditure in connection with convicts adversely affected trade and crippled various established industries, the abolition of transportation had in the end a beneficial

effect on labour generally. Up to the year 1874 wages had remained for many years without perceptible movement, but in 1875 there was a distinct improvement in all classes of labour, and the improved rate of wages was maintained until the gold discoveries, when a rapid advance was experienced almost in every trade. The effect on wages cannot of course be gauged by the total production of gold, but the value of the precious metal exported will give some indication of the impetus which trade experienced under the stimulating influence of the gold discoveries. The exports of gold were:

1891.....	£115,182	1896.....	£1,068,808
1892.....	226,284	1897.....	2,564,977
1893.....	421,385	1898.....	3,990,698
1894.....	787,099		
1895.....	879,748		

It was the gold discoveries alone which brought capital to Western Australia. From 1871 to 1875 the money imported was in round numbers about £400,000, but nearly all on account of the Government. During the next five years, 1876-80, there was a withdrawal of capital on private account estimated at £161,000, but as the Government borrowed £365,000 there was actually a net importation of £204,000. From 1881 to 1885 more attention was devoted to Western Australia by capitalists, and as the Government continued to borrow in small sums the total capital imported was larger than previously. The importation by the Government in these years amounted to £463,000 and on private account £265,000, making a total of £728,000. The five years opening with 1886 saw an entire change in the industrial condition of the country. Gold was dis-

covered at Yilgarn in 1887, and though the early finds at Eenuin and Golden Valley were of little value they led to the discovery of a permanent field at Southern Cross, a few miles to the southward. Then came the discoveries at Mallina on the west coast, where a considerable tract of country was proved to be auriferous, and the rich alluvial discoveries on the Ashburton. Early in 1891 some very rich gold-bearing stone was unearthed on the Upper Murchison ; the finds attracted a large number of men and several splendid reefs were discovered and a large quantity of alluvial gold won. In the following year a most extraordinary and sensational discovery of gold was made by a man named Bayley at a point about one hundred miles east of Southern Cross. These, and the further extensive discoveries which immediately followed, gave a wonderful impetus to the colony—in 1890, Western Australia included only 46,290 inhabitants; in 1900, the number was 171,022, an increase due entirely to the gold discoveries.

The shipping arriving at the ports of the colony in 1861 had a tonnage of 57,456—so slow was the progress of the country that the tonnage in 1871 was not more than 63,922. Ten years later 145,048 tons of shipping entered West Australian ports and 533,433 tons in 1891, but in 1898 the figures stood at 1,199,894 tons, not indeed all due to the expansion of the local trade but largely the result of it. The imports in 1861 were valued at £147,913, which represents less than £9, 10s. per inhabitant; ten years later it was even less per inhabitant, aggregating only £226,000. In 1881 there was evidence of growth, as the imports per head were valued at £13, 14s. 3d.; but the total did not yet reach £405,-

000; a very different condition of trade is displayed by the figures of 1891 and subsequent years, for the imports in the year named rose to £1,208,093 or £25, 2s. 5d. per inhabitant, and in 1898 to £5,241,965 or £31, 15s. 4d. perinhabitant, a sum not approached by any other member of the group. Very much the same tale is disclosed by the figures of exports, as the following summary shows.

	Total. £	Per inhabitant. £ s. d.
1861.....	95,789	6 2 10
1872.....	209,196	8 6 11
1881.....	502,770	17 0 8
1891.....	799,466	15 13 9
1898.....	4,960,006	80 1 1

The splendid result indicated by the figures last given is not due to gold alone, for the pastoral and timber industries have risen in importance with the progress of population, and show every sign of further expansion.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1890 AND THE BROKEN HILL STRIKE OF 1892.

THE great strike, so called from the number of persons engaged in it, and the wide area over which it extended, arose from no single cause. There was that pervading unrest in labour circles so fatal to friendly relations between employers and employed, but besides general grievances several trades considered they had special causes of complaint. Between the pastoralists and shearers there were certain long-standing difficulties which negotiations had failed to adjust; while the officers and seamen of the inter-colonial steamers were labouring under a sense of injustice due to the non-removal of hardships, the reality of which was admitted even by the steamship proprietors.

The Shearers' Union was a most powerful organisation with branches in all the eastern colonies, and it was a serious step when it announced its determination to allow none but union labour to be employed by pastoralists. The pastoralists, though at the time by no means so well organised as they became later, were equally determined to employ whatever labour they might choose. The Shearers' Union had promulgated a set of rules to be observed in shearing sheds. These they wished to impose upon pastoralists, and as early as 1887 they endeavoured to enforce

them, but with little success. The relationship between the two bodies became increasingly strained from 1887 onwards, although several attempts were made to bring about an understanding. In 1889 a Committee of the Pastoralists' Association of Queensland met a Committee of the Shearers' Union at the town of Blachall, and drew up a form of agreement to be observed in future, but this agreement was rejected at the Queensland Shearers' meeting in January, 1890. The pastoralists then set about making their annual contracts for shearing during the coming season without any reference to the Shearers' Union, and this was met by an announcement made at Young by the president of the Amalgamated Shearers' Union, that the shipping of wool sheared by non-unionists would be blocked. This was in May. Further district conferences were held, but as neither side was absolutely committed to the decisions of the conferences, no result followed, nor did anything come of the meeting in Sydney in July of the President of the Shearers' Union and the Secretary of the Pastoralists' Association. The pastoralists demanded that they should be allowed to shear their sheep under their own agreements, during the coming season, but this was refused by the shearers, and as neither side would give way a strike was inevitable.

The wharf labourers appeared to hold the key of the situation, and any uncertainty as to their action was dispelled by the official announcement that the Wharf Labourers' Union had decided not to handle wool shorn by non-unionists. To prepare for eventualities, a number of trades unions in sympathy with the shearers formed a strike committee, and its first step was, on 18th August, to call out the wharf

labourers. The employers, however, were not idle, and, even before the wharf labourers struck, arrangements were being made to fill their places with non-union hands.

Independently of the shearers' trouble there were other labour difficulties pending. The captain of the steamship *Corinna* had seen fit to discharge a fireman from his vessel. The unionists attributed his discharge to the fact that the fireman was a delegate to the Seamen's Union, and called upon the owners for a conference, which was refused. Before the matter could be settled a dispute occurred between the marine officers and their employers, owing to a complaint of lack of accommodation on board ship, and a conference was arranged for. Shortly afterwards this promise of a conference was withdrawn, because the owners found that the officers either had already affiliated or were about to affiliate themselves with the Trades Councils, of which also the Seamen's Unions were members. The ship-owners contended that the action of the officers in joining with the trades unionists was derogatory to their positions, as it necessitated the officers and their subordinates meeting on equal terms, which would give rise to a condition of things entirely subversive of discipline. The unionists, however, viewed the matter differently, and considered the action of the owners as a direct attack on the principles of Trades Unionism. The marine officers struck work early in August and were followed by the seamen and draymen, and, as the wharf labourers had already struck and the shearers were refusing engagements, the labour market was more disturbed than had ever before been known. Almost immediately after these events, the Newcastle miners were

locked out for refusing to hew coal which they thought was intended for employers engaged in the strike. All the eastern colonies and New Zealand were now involved in the disputes and in many trades work ceased to be carried on.

Great meetings were held in various parts of the colonies, both by employers and by unionists, all with the purpose of offering effective resistance to the other side and eliciting public sympathy. At Albany a conference of intercolonial shipowners was held on 23rd August, 1890; seven days later there was an answer in the form of a great labour demonstration in Sydney, with a procession from the Circular Quay to the Exhibition building. All through September the opposing organisations were conferring amongst themselves and manifestoes were drawn up in a formal way and issued for general information. On September 6th, an important development took place; the Broken Hill mines were shut down. This step was taken by the directors on account of the difficulty in getting materials to and from the mines owing to the stoppage of the intercolonial trade; the miners' executive on the other hand alleged that the stoppage of work was due to a desire to prevent the miners contributing towards the Maritime and Shearers' Unions, and thus helping to prolong the strike. By this time all the trades unions, except the Railway Associations, whose assistance was needed to prevent the export of wool, were on strike. To support so many persons out of employment was a heavy drain on the Trades Unions' funds, and the strike committee, finding themselves likely to be pressed for money, were solicitous lest any other men than those directly concerned should come out, and thus cause an unnecessary drain on the

strike funds, besides alienating public sympathy from the cause of the strikers.

Gangs of men were appointed by the strike committee to watch the wharves and prevent non-unionists reaching them, but this form of picketing was not altogether successful, as the free labourers were in many cases provided with food and shelter upon the wharves, and remained there while the strike lasted. The strikers were able, however, to effect almost the entire suspension of the intercolonial steamer traffic, but it soon became evident that time was working on the side of the employers, and that the longer a settlement was delayed, the less chance was there of the dispute being settled favourably to the unions.

At the beginning, the strike was conducted without any show of violence, but it was soon manifest that unless special precautions were exercised very great disorders would ensue. The authorities in all the colonies, therefore, took measures to provide additional police protection; in New South Wales large numbers of special constables were sworn in.

The first serious disturbance occurred at Newcastle, where a dray laden with flour belonging to an unpopular employer was upset, and an attack made on the wharves of the Australian Agricultural Company. This attack was repelled by the police. In spite of the picketing many vessels were loaded by non-unionists, much to the indignation of the strikers, but in spite of the precautions taken by the police, free labourers, as they began to be called, were frequently assaulted in the streets of the cities, and in some cases men at work were so severely injured as to be compelled to relinquish their occupation. In Sydney carting through the streets became impos-

sible owing to the intimidation of the strikers, and free labourers were compelled either to abandon their work or sleep on the wharves. To break the blockade, persons connected with the shipping of wool organised a train of trollies with volunteer drivers to proceed with loads of wool from the Darling Harbour Railway terminus to the Circular Quay. Nine trollies started with a guard of mounted and foot police. A dense crowd gathered and at several points attempted to block the teams; in the fight which ensued several of the drivers and police were injured. When the wool reached the Circular Quay, the disorder became so great that the authorities found it necessary to read the Riot Act, and the crowd was dispersed by the mounted police, a few arrests being made. This was the culminating point of the disturbances in Sydney, as three days afterwards the wool was carried through the streets without molestation. In the coal-mining districts there still continued a great deal of intimidation. On the 29th September, there was a serious attack made upon non-unionists at Greta, and on 9th October, the military and police had to be sent to Bulli to protect the free labourers. The last important act in the drama of the great strike was the calling out of the union shearers; this occurred at the end of September. The Queensland labour federation, however, ordered the execution of all existing contracts, and the Queensland shearers returned to their work, after being out on strike for a week.

After a little while it was found possible in other trades to fill the places vacated by the strikers, and though the strike continued for a month longer, not terminating until the 9th November, it was evident that, with the return to work of the Queensland

shearers, the cause of trades unionism was, for the time, defeated.

The shearers were by no means contented to accept their defeat as a final solution of their trouble with the pastoralists, nor were the latter disposed to allow the matter to rest, but determined to improve their victory. Soon after the events just narrated the Pastoralists' Union in the eastern colonies became federated, and felt themselves strong enough to impose their own conditions upon the shearers. Accordingly they drew up an agreement which they expected all shearers in their employ to sign. This agreement was rejected by the Shearers' Union in January, 1891, and the pastoralists in consequence determined to employ free labour, entirely ignoring the union. The Queensland shearers refused to work under the pastoralists' agreement, and in New South Wales the local union resolved to take no part in the shearing, unless the employers would consent to employ only union labour. To this the pastoralists refused to agree. Victoria remained unaffected by the events of the year, and in South Australia a conference was called of the two unions, and the right of pastoralists to use free labour was conceded.

The chief events of the shearers' strike of 1891 occurred in Queensland, where the earliest shearing in Australasia is done. The strikers established camps in various localities, where the men could be supported at the minimum of cost; and by this means, aided by contributions from the trades unions of the other colonies, the shearers maintained their position for about five months. The pastoralists proceeded to obtain the necessary labour from the southern colonies, especially from Victoria. Every endeavour was made by the strikers to prevent these

men from reaching their destinations, and armed mobs travelled about the country intimidating the free labourers, and burning and destroying the property of the pastoralists. It was soon found necessary by the Government to draft police and military to the disturbed districts, for the protection of the labourers seeking work, and for the security of property. The country was very much like as if it were in insurrection. At one station it was found necessary to read the Riot Act, and twenty-one men were arrested on a charge of arson and conspiracy. In many places grass was fired, fences destroyed, and attempts made to burn station buildings. At Barcaldine a thousand armed men were gathered together in one camp, and forcible measures were employed by them to arrest free labourers and restrain them from working. The most inflammatory speeches were made by some of the managers of the Barcaldine camp, and the wildest talk indulged in as regards incendiarism, resistance to the Government, and a general revolution. Attempts were made at the time, and since, to connect the leaders of the unions with these wild vapourings, for which they were no more responsible than were the pastoralists for the persons on the side of the employers who indulged in rabid utterances of an opposite kind.

During the progress of the strike in Queensland the Government determined to arrest the Barcaldine strike committee on the charge of conspiracy by threats, intimidation, and violence to induce labourers to depart from their hire, etc. These acts were penal, and the members of the committee were convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment; other less important offenders were also arrested,

convicted, and sentenced to shorter terms of imprisonment.

The Queensland Government stood firm against the armed strikers, many of whom were not citizens of the colony, and arrests continued to be made during March, April, May and June. Meanwhile the shearing was being steadily carried on and completed with free labour alone. It was idle, therefore, to continue the strike, which was accordingly declared off on the 15th June. In New South Wales a few stations were shorn under the Shearers' Union rules, but the majority of pastoralists employed only free labour, so that the strike of 1891 also ended in failure.

THE BROKEN HILL STRIKE.

In July, 1892, there was considerable friction between the mine owners at Broken Hill, in New South Wales, and the miners. The owners expressed themselves dissatisfied with the amount of work done by the miners, alleging that there was a good deal of time wasted, and they therefore determined to abolish day work and substitute the contract system. The miners belonged to a very powerful association which had obtained concessions of a very substantial character from their employers, and the association declined to submit to the change of system, and a general strike ensued. The Broken Hill mines are so situated as to be easily picketed, and pickets were established by the miners along the whole of the boundaries of the principal mines. No one could pass into a mine without the consent of the pickets, and frequent assaults were made on officers and others endeavouring to enter the mine premises without leave of the strikers. The miners asked the

owners for a conference, which was refused until all the pickets were withdrawn. To withdraw the pickets was to allow free labour to be brought in, and there were a large number of men both in Adelaide and in Melbourne ready to go to Broken Hill if they could do so free from molestation. The miners therefore refused to withdraw their pickets. After waiting some weeks the directors of the chief mine began to bring up free labourers to work the mines on the terms refused by the unions. On September 11th, a special train arrived from Adelaide bringing a number of non-unionists under a strong police escort. A large crowd assembled to receive the free labourers and stones were thrown at the train and a few pistol shots fired, but under the protection of the police the men were conveyed safely from the train to the mine. Next day about one hundred additional police were sent to Broken Hill, and under their protection a large number of free labourers were brought up and these were allowed to proceed to the mine without hindrance from the strikers. It soon became evident that the supply of labour available to the mine owners was so great, that if the miners on strike did not quickly come to terms, there would be no places left for them. Many members of the union therefore began to accept employment on the terms offered, though a minority remained implacable and held out till the strike collapsed in November, 1892.

On account of the outrages committed on non-unionists, the Government ordered the arrest of the members of the defence or strike committee on the ground that they had incited the strikers to commit breaches of the peace. Six of the leaders were brought to trial in September, 1892, on a charge of

inciting to riot, found guilty, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three months to two years. The verdict of the jury and the sentences were received with great indignation by unionists, not only in Broken Hill, but throughout the country, and a great deal of pressure was brought to bear upon the Ministry to release the prisoners, but Sir George Dibbs, who was premier at the time, was inexorable. The prisoners were compelled to serve part of their sentences, those with the longer terms not being released for sixteen months. That the miners of Broken Hill and the district considered the conviction of the strike committee unjust may be gathered from the fact that two of the leading members of the committee who were convicted now represent the district in Parliament.

PART NINE.

AUSTRALASIA OF TO-DAY.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FEDERATION.

THE desirability of federating the various Australian colonies did not escape the attention of those who planned its first free Constitution. On the contrary, the proposal to divide the continent into self-governing provinces was accompanied by a plan for bringing them together for certain national purposes. Unfortunately the proposals in regard to federation did not appear to the colonists to be so urgent as to require to be immediately dealt with, and were therefore postponed to that more convenient season, which, however, never arrived. The evil of want of union became increasingly evident as the colonies expanded in population and wealth, but the provincial feeling was also very strong, and the first steps towards union came from the necessities of the Governments, rather than from popular feeling. The first step towards federation was the recognition of the desirability of having a loose sort of union for certain purposes, out of which sprang the idea of a Federal Council. By many, however, the proposal for a Federal Council seemed to be adverse to the more comprehensive federation ultimately aimed at. After much discussion

and the holding of several conferences, at which the more important colonies were represented, the question came before the Imperial Parliament, which passed a measure sanctioning the formation of a Federal Council, to which any colony that felt inclined to do so could send delegates. The first meeting of the Federal Council was held at Hobart in January, 1886, the colonies of Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia and Fiji being represented. New South Wales, South Australia, and New Zealand declined to join, but South Australia sent delegates to a subsequent meeting. The Council held eight meetings, at which various matters of intercolonial interest were discussed. Without New South Wales the Council was doomed to failure, and it can hardly be said that its proceedings were regarded very seriously, even by those who took part in them. The Council was formed as a purely deliberative body, possessing neither funds nor powers to put its legislation into force, and it ceased to exist as soon as federation was an accomplished fact.

A more important step toward federation was taken in February, 1890, when a Conference, consisting of delegates from each of the seven colonies, met at Melbourne. The result of the Conference was the adoption of an Address to the Queen, embodying certain resolutions which affirmed the desirableness of an early union, under the Crown, on principles just to all. The Conference suggested that the remoter Australasian colonies should be entitled to admission to the union upon terms to be afterwards agreed upon, and recommended that steps should be taken for the appointment of delegates to a National Australasian Convention, to consider and re-

port upon an adequate scheme for a Federal Constitution.

In accordance with these resolutions, delegates were appointed by the different Parliaments, and on the 2nd March, 1891, the National Australasian Convention commenced its sittings in the Legislative Assembly Chambers, Macquarie Street, Sydney. There were forty-five members accredited to the convention, each colony sending seven, with the exception of New Zealand, which had only three representatives. Sir Henry Parkes was unanimously chosen as President, and Sir Samuel Griffiths, of Queensland, as Vice-President.

The proceedings of the Convention attracted the greatest attention, not only in the colonies but in England, and the following resolutions adopted by the Convention confirmed the principles upon which the proposed Federal Constitution should be based.

1. The powers and rights of existing colonies to remain intact, except as regards such powers as it might be necessary to hand over to the Federal Government.

2. No alteration to be made in State boundaries without the consent of the Legislatures of such States, as well as of the Federal Parliament.

3. Trade between the federated colonies to be absolutely free.

4. Power to impose Customs and Excise Duties to rest with the Federal Government and Parliament.

5. Military and Naval Defence Forces to be under one command.

6. The Federal Constitution to make provision to enable each State to make amendments in its Constitution if necessary for the purposes of Federation.

Further resolutions approved of the framing of

a Federal Constitution which should establish a Senate and a House of Representatives—the latter to possess the sole power of originating money bills; also a Federal Supreme Court of Appeal, and an Executive consisting of a Governor-General and such persons as might be appointed as his advisers. On the principles embodied in these various resolutions was founded a draft Constitution Bill which was adopted by the Convention, and recommended for the consideration of the Parliaments and people of the seven colonies.

The Bill of 1891, though universally admitted to have been ably framed, aroused no popular enthusiasm, and parliamentary sanction to its provisions was not sought in any of the colonies. Federation soon fell into the background of politics, although efforts were made by some of its zealous advocates to keep the movement from utter collapse.

The most notable of these efforts was the holding of a popular unofficial Conference at Corowa, New South Wales, in May, 1894, at which a resolution affirming the desirability of a speedy Federal Union was enthusiastically carried. This Conference served to arouse public interest and enthusiasm, and was followed by a much more representative gathering at Bathurst, New South Wales, which did a great deal to fix public attention on the importance of the movement. The Bathurst Convention, however, did not take place until November, 1896, before which date Mr. G. H. Reid, Premier of New South Wales, had rescued the cause from the obscurity to which it had been relegated by general apathy. It was the opinion of Mr. Reid that a greater measure of success could be secured by enlisting the active sympathies and aid of the electors, and with that

object in view he invited the Premiers of the other colonies to meet in conference for the purpose of devising another scheme. At this Conference, which was held at Hobart in the beginning of 1895, all the Australasian colonies except New Zealand were represented, and each of the Premiers present agreed to ask his Parliament to pass a Bill enabling the electors qualified to vote for members of the Lower House, to choose ten persons to represent the colony at a Federal Convention.

To secure uniformity from the beginning, it was determined by the Premiers, that the Bills embodying the determinations of the Conference should be, as far as possible, identical in their terms. Parliament was to be asked to sanction the holding of an Australasian Federal Convention to be submitted, in the first instance, to the local Parliaments for suggested amendments, and, after final adoption by the Convention, to the electors of the various colonies for their approval, by means of the referendum.

Enabling Acts were passed by the Parliaments of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, but Queensland held aloof from the movement. Delegates to the Convention were elected by the popular vote in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, and by the Parliament of Western Australia.

The first session of the Federal Convention was opened in Adelaide on the 22nd March, 1897, Mr. C. C. Kingston, Premier of South Australia, being elected President; and Sir Richard Baker, President of the Legislative Council of South Australia, Chairman of Committees; while Mr. Edmund Barton, Q.C., one of the representatives of the mother colony, and a gentleman who had taken a deep interest in

the movement, acted as Leader of the Convention. The Convention did not formally adopt the 1891 Bill as the basis of its work, but followed the general arrangement of that Bill, and accepted many of its provisions. The final meeting of the session was held on the 23rd April, when a draft Constitution was adopted, and at a formal meeting on the 5th May the Convention adjourned until the 2nd September, having decided to hold its second session in Sydney. During the four months which intervened the Bill was considered by the Parliaments of the various colonies, and numerous amendments were laid before the second session. While the Conference was sitting in Sydney it was announced that Queensland desired to come into the proposed union; and in view of this development, and in order to give further opportunity for the consideration of the Bill, the Convention again adjourned. The third and final session was opened in Melbourne on the 20th January, 1898, but the colony of Queensland was still unrepresented; and, after further consideration, the Draft Bill was finally adopted by the Convention on the 16th March, for submission to the people, with the stipulation that, if so accepted by three or more colonies, it should be transmitted to the Queen by the Parliaments of such colonies, with a petition for the necessary legislative enactment.

The Convention Bill, as it was called, proposed that immediately on the establishment of the Commonwealth the Federal Government should assume the administration of the departments of Customs and Excise, and, on dates to be afterwards proclaimed, should also take over from the States, Posts and Telegraphs; Naval and Military Defence; Lighthouses, Lightships, Beacons and Buoys, and Quarantine;

and should have exclusive powers of dealing with these services. Power was also given to the Federal authority to deal with a large number of other matters of government, but only the services specified were to be transferred without further legislation. In the event of the Federal law conflicting with an existing State law, it was enacted that the Federal law should prevail. Within two years of the establishment of the Commonwealth a uniform Customs and Excise tariff was to be imposed by the Federal Government, and intercolonial trade would then become absolutely free. As the transfer of the services specified would leave the federating States with a large deficiency in their local finances, a provision was inserted in the Constitution making it incumbent upon the Commonwealth to raise from Customs and Excise duties four times the sum actually needed by the Commonwealth for its own purposes in the exercise of the original powers conferred, and to return the excess to the local Treasuries. Other sources of taxation were left open to the Federal Government, so that the Federal Treasurer was not absolutely compelled to raise the whole of his requirements through the Custom House. For the first five years after the imposition of the uniform tariff, the surplus revenue raised would be returnable to the colonies in the actual proportions in which it was contributed by them, to be ascertained by a system of accounts, and thereafter in such manner as the Federal Parliament might deem fair. To meet the special circumstances of Western Australia, so largely dependent upon its Custom revenue, that colony was allowed to retain its intercolonial duties, in gradually diminishing proportion, for the first five years of the uniform tariff. With the consent of the States the railway systems

of the colonies might be taken over by the Federal authority; and the Commonwealth was also empowered to take over the whole or a portion of the State Debts, applying the surplus revenue collected from Customs and Excise in payment of the interest thereon. An Inter-State Commission was to be established for the proper administration of the Federal laws relating to trade and commerce between the States of the Union. The Federal Parliament would have power to forbid the imposition of preferential or discriminating railway tariffs by the federating States, should such tariffs be unjust to other States of the Union, due regard being paid to the financial obligations resting upon the States by whom the railways were constructed. The right to a reasonable use of the waters of a river for the purpose of irrigation or conservation was preserved to the people of the colony through which that river flows.

The Senate and the House of Representatives had equally the power of originating Bills, with the exception of Bills appropriating revenues or imposing taxation, the right of originating which was reserved to the House of Representatives. The Senate would not have the power of amending these appropriation or taxation Bills, but it might return them to the House of Representatives, suggesting the omission or amendment of any of their provisions, and the House of Representatives might deal with such suggestions as it pleased.

The executive power was vested in a Governor-General—to be appointed by the Queen—assisted by a Federal Executive Council; and it was provided that the seat of government should be established in Federal territory. The Parliament was to consist of two Houses—the Senate and the House of Represen-

tatives—both to be elected by the people on the franchise existing in the various States for the popular body at the time of union—the Senate for a period of six years and the House of Representatives for a period of three years. Every State joining the Federation at its inception was entitled to an equal representation of six members in the Senate; and it was provided that half the number of Senators should retire every three years, but should be eligible for re-election. The number of members of the House of Representatives was to be, as near as possible, twice the number of Senators, the States to be represented in proportion to population, and it was provided that no State entering the Federation at the time of its establishment should have a smaller representation than five members. Although the Federal Parliament would have power to alter the franchise on which its members would be elected, yet it could only do so in the direction of the extension of the voting powers of the people, so that in New Zealand and South Australia the right of women to vote could not be withdrawn by the central authority so long as adult suffrage prevailed in those States. Both Senators and Representatives were to receive an annual payment of £400 each.

In the case of Bills, other than taxation or appropriation Bills, which had been passed twice by the House of Representatives, and had been twice rejected or shelved by the Senate, it was provided that the two houses be simultaneously dissolved, and if, after the election, they should still disagree, the members of the two Houses would require to meet at a joint sitting, and the Bill could only become law if adopted by a majority of three-fifths of the members present and voting at the joint sitting.

The judicial power of the Commonwealth was vested in a High Court of Australia. This Court might hear appeals from all Federal Courts or Courts having Federal jurisdiction, from Supreme Court of the States, and from the Inter-State Commission. Appeals to the Privy Council in matters involving the interpretation of the Federal Constitution or of the Constitution of a State were forbidden; but the right of appeal to the Privy Council in other cases was not withdrawn, although the Federal Parliament might make laws limiting the matters in which such appeals might be made. The Federal Constitution could only be amended by an absolute majority of the members of each House of Parliament. It was provided that the amendment should then be submitted to the people by means of the referendum, and should become law only if accepted, first, by a majority of the people of the Commonwealth, and, second, by a majority of the States.

The Bill for establishing the Commonwealth was warmly received in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, but was viewed somewhat coldly by a section of the people of New South Wales, and this feeling rapidly developed into one of active hostility, the main points of objection being the financial provisions, equal representation in the Senate, and the difficulty in the way of the larger colonies securing an amendment of the Constitution in the event of a conflict with the smaller States. As far as the other colonies were concerned, it was evident that the Bill was safe, and public attention throughout Australasia was riveted on New South Wales, where a fierce political contest was raging, which it was recognised would decide the fate of the measure for the time being. The fears expressed by its advo-

cates were not so much in regard to securing a majority in favour of the Bill, but as to whether the statutory number of 80,000 votes necessary for its acceptance would be reached.

In the month of June, 1898, the Constitution Bill was submitted by means of the referendum to the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. The Enabling Acts provided that in the case of New South Wales the minimum affirmative vote should be 80,000; in the case of Victoria, 50,000; and in the case of Tasmania, 6,000; while in South Australia a bare majority of votes was sufficient to secure the acceptance of the Bill. In Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania the Bill was adopted by large majorities; while in the case of New South Wales there was a majority of 5,367 for the Bill, but as the affirmative vote only reached 71,595, the Bill was regarded as rejected. The results of the voting were as follow:

Colony.	For the Bill.	Against the Bill.	Total Votes, excluding Informal.
New South Wales....	71,595	66,228	137,823
Victoria.....	100,520	22,099	122,619
South Australia.....	35,803	17,320	53,123
Tasmania.....	11,706	2,716	14,422

The Bill was not submitted to the popular vote in Western Australia, as the Enabling Act of that colony provided that Western Australia should only join a federation of which New South Wales formed a part. The other colonies, also, although legally empowered to federate without New South Wales, tacitly admitted that the adhesion of the mother colony would have to be secured before the final steps could be taken.

The existence of such a strong opposition to the Bill in New South Wales convinced even its most zealous advocates that some changes would have to be made in the Constitution before it could be forced upon the people; consequently, although the general election in New South Wales, held six or seven weeks later, was fought on the Federal issue, yet the opposing parties seemed to occupy somewhat the same ground, and the question narrowed itself down to one as to which party should be entrusted with the negotiations to be conducted on behalf of the colony, with a view to securing a modification of the objectionable features of the Bill. The new Parliament decided to adopt the procedure of sending the Premier, Mr. Reid, into conference, armed with a series of resolutions affirming its desire to bring about the completion of federal union, but asking the other colonies to agree to the reconsideration of the provisions which were most generally objected to in New South Wales. As they left the Assembly, these resolutions suggested, first, that, with equal representation in the Senate, the three-fifths majority at the joint sitting of the two Houses should give way to a simple majority, or the joint sitting should be replaced by a provision for a national referendum; second, that the clause making it incumbent upon the Federal Government to raise, in order to provide for the needs of the States, £3 for every £1 derived from Customs and Excise Duties for its own purposes, and thus ensuring a very high tariff, should be eliminated from the Bill; third, that the site of the federal capital should be fixed within the boundaries of New South Wales; fourth, that better provision should be made against the alteration of the boundaries of a State without

its own consent; fifth, that the use of inland rivers for the purposes of water conservation and irrigation should be more clearly safeguarded; sixth, that all money Bills should be dealt with in the same manner as Taxation and Appropriation Bills; and seventh, that appeals from the Supreme Courts of the States should uniformly be taken either to the Privy Council or to the Federal High Court, and not indiscriminately to either; while the House also invited further enquiry into the financial provisions of the Bill, although avowing its willingness to accept these provisions if in other respects the Bill was amended. These were all the resolutions submitted by the Government to the House, but the Assembly appended others in respect to the alteration of the Constitution and the number of Senators. These were to the effect that an alteration of the Constitution should take effect if approved by both Houses and a national referendum; that a proposed alteration should be submitted to the national referendum if affirmed in two succeeding sessions by an absolute majority in one House, and rejected by the other; and that no proposed alteration transferring to the Commonwealth any powers retained by a State at the establishment of the federation should take effect in that State unless approved by a majority of electors voting therein; and that the number of Senators should be increased from six to not less than eight for each State.

The Legislative Council adopted the resolutions with some important amendments, discarding the suggestion in the first resolution for a national referendum; submitting that the seat of the Federal Government should be established at Sydney; more clearly preserving the rights of the people of the

colony to the use of the waters of its inland rivers for purposes of water conservation and irrigation; carrying all appeals from the Supreme Courts of the States to the Privy Council; and declining to affirm its preparedness to accept the financial scheme embodied in the Bill. Further, the House suggested that the plan of submitting proposed alterations of the Constitution to the people by means of the referendum should be altered, and that no rights or powers retained by a State should be afterwards transferred to the Commonwealth without the consent of both Houses of Parliament of that State. The New South Wales Premier decided to submit the resolutions of both Houses to the other Premiers in conference, attaching, however, greater importance to those of the Assembly, as embodying the views of a House which had just returned from the country. This conference was held in Melbourne at the end of January, 1899, Queensland being represented; and an agreement was arrived at whereby it was decided that, in the event of a disagreement between the two Houses of Parliament, the decision of an absolute majority of the members of the two Houses should be final; that the provision for the retention by the Commonwealth of only one-fourth of the Customs and Excise revenue might be altered or repealed at the end of ten years, another clause being added permitting the Parliament to grant financial assistance to a State; that no alteration in the boundaries of a State should be made without the approval of the people as well as the Parliament of that State; and that the seat of Government should be in New South Wales, at some place, at least 100 miles from Sydney, as might be determined by the Federal Parliament, and within an area of 100 square miles of

territory to be acquired by the Commonwealth, it being provided that the Parliament should sit at Melbourne until it met at the seat of Government.

A special session of the New South Wales Parliament was convened to deal with this agreement, and the Legislative Assembly passed an Enabling Bill, referring the amended Constitution to the electors. The Council, however, amended the Bill so as first to secure the postponement of the referendum for a period of three months; second, to make it necessary for the minimum vote cast in favour of the Bill to be one-fourth of the total number of electors on the roll; third, to defer the entrance of New South Wales into the Federation until Queensland should come in. These amendments were not accepted by the Assembly, and a conference between representatives of the two Houses was arranged; but this proved abortive, and twelve new members were appointed to the Upper House in order to secure the passage of the Bill. This course had the effect desired by the Government; for the Council passed the Bill on the 19th April, an amendment postponing the referendum for eight weeks being accepted by the Assembly. The vote on the Bill was, therefore, taken on the 20th June, 1899, the result of the voting being 107,420 votes in favour of the Bill, and 82,741 votes against it. The Bill was consequently adopted by a majority of 24,679 votes. The colonies of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania also adopted the Amended Bill with large majorities, but the proposal to submit it to the referendum was negatived by the Legislative Council of Western Australia.

The voting in the final referendum in each colony was as follows:

	For.	Against.
New South Wales.....	107,420	82,741
Victoria.....	152,635	9,804
Queensland.....	35,181	28,965
South Australia.....	65,990	17,053
Tasmania.....	13,437	791
 Total votes.....	 374,663	 139,354

CHAPTER XL.

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

ALTHOUGH the five great colonies of Australia,—Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania,—had given such an overwhelming majority in favour of federation in their vote on the Commonwealth Bill, more than a year was to elapse before Australia was to front the world as a nation within an empire in the sense in which her sister Canada on the opposite side of the globe is a nation. Meanwhile the people through discussion were being educated to the changed form of government under which they were to live; and the empire as a whole, and England in particular, were made to realise for the first time what an important factor the island-continent in the southern seas was in the sum total of Britain's strength.

The war in South Africa filled the sons of the hardy adventurers who had settled beneath the Southern Cross with an enthusiasm to show how ready they were to help the Motherland. When they prepared to send volunteers to the seat of war they had no idea how sorely England was going to be pressed, and offered their troops as an indication of their willingness to bear the burdens of the England that had helped them in so many ways. Reverses came, and Nicholson's Nek, Magersfontein, and Spion Kop, were felt as keenly in Brisbane, in Sydney, in Melbourne, in Hobart Town, in Adelaide, and in Perth as

in London or Liverpool. When the force in South Africa was seen to be inadequate for the work in hand, from end to end of Australia volunteers offered themselves, knowing full well, from the death roll of the troops already in the field, the dangers they would have to face. During the progress of the war, what is now the Australian Commonwealth sent more than twice as many troops to the seat of war as the older and more populous colony of Canada; and to the sending of her troops no dissenting voice was heard. From the northern boundaries of the Transvaal, where Colonel Plumer was operating, to Cape Town the Australians were scattered, and in whatever duty they were engaged they gave a good account of themselves.

The following troops were sent from Australia to South Africa during the progress of the war:

New South Wales: Imperial Bushmen (Six Companies, A—F) Mounted Infantry, Infantry, Lancers.

Tasmania: Infantry and Imperial Bushmen.

Queensland: Mounted Infantry (4 Contingents).

South Australia: Infantry and Mounted Infantry.

Victoria: Mounted Infantry (2 Contingents), Mounted Rifles (7 Companies), and Infantry.

West Australia: Mounted Infantry.

Troops from Australia were with the Canadians, when the Sunnyside Laager was captured on January 1, 1900—the first break in weeks of reverses for the English—and the Australians under Colonel de Lisle made the final dash on Pretoria when the demand to surrender was sent in to the Boer capital. Across the southern seas messages flashed from day to day telling of the noble deeds performed on kopje and veldt, some of which won for several of the soldiers

of the Australian contingents the much coveted Victoria Cross.

So far as Australia was concerned the war came at a most opportune time. It gave her an opportunity of showing England that she was a land from which the Mother-country could obtain something more than mutton and wool and products of the mine. She had men, good and true, who were ready to die in the Empire's war. Her action at this critical moment in England's history vastly increased the respect in which she was held by the Home Government. It had an even better effect than this. It requires some great event to knit a much scattered people together,—a national upheaval or struggle in a common cause. The fact that men from Tasmania, from New South Wales, from Victoria, from South Australia, from West Australia, and from Queensland were fighting shoulder to shoulder for the Empire in South Africa, and seeing likewise that she had troops in China and a naval coast-defence ship in Chinese waters, made the people throughout the length and breadth of Australia realise the union into which they had decided to enter and prepared them for the inaugural celebration of the Australian Commonwealth which took place January 1, 1901.

On December 25, Mr. Edmund Barton undertook the task of forming the first cabinet of the new federation. By December 30 the task was completed with the following results: Right Hon. Edmund Barton, Prime Minister and Exterior Affairs; Hon. Alfred Deakin, Attorney-General and Justice; Sir W. J. Lyne, Home Affairs; Sir G. Turner, Treasurer; Right Hon. C. C. Kingston, Trade and Customs; Sir James R. Dickson (since deceased), Defence; Sir J. Forrest, Postmaster-General. These

were all tried men in Australian affairs, and the little ship of state was about to begin her long journey through time with an excellent lot of officers and an exceptionally good captain to guide her through the dangerous rocks and over the troublous seas of politics that every country new or old must perform of circumstances meet.

The first Premier of united Australia, the Right Honorable Edmund Barton, P.C., K.C., is worthy of more than passing notice. He is a native of Australia having been born at the Glebe, Sydney, in 1849. When but 30 years old he began his political career, and was elected to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales. He made his mark in the Assembly, and was its speaker from January 3, 1883, to January 26, 1887, in which year he was called to the Legislative Council. After a time he resigned and was returned to the Assembly for East Sydney. He was making his influence felt, and was the Attorney-General for New South Wales in 1889 and again in 1891. All this time he had had much at heart the federation of Australia, and when he retired from the Upper House it was because he was prompted by a desire to help the federationists towards a workable scheme of confederation. He became more and more enthusiastic as he saw the possibilities of a federation, and as a consequence exercised greater vigour in his advocacy of it. Indeed since 1897, he had been the recognised leader in the movement and has deservedly been given the name of Father of the Commonwealth Bill.

Great preparations were made for the inaugural celebration at Sydney; the streets and public buildings were gorgeously decorated, handsome arches were erected at different points in the city, the crowd

that assembled was the largest that ever came together in any colony of England. It is said that fully a million people were in and about the city on this momentous day. The streets were packed and the procession that wound through the vast crowd was at once a magnificent spectacle and finely representative of the democratic spirit of Australia. The trades, the societies, the police, the chancellors and members of the senates of universities, judges of the supreme courts and a long line of troops stretched for several miles through the cheering crowd who for the first time in their lives realised what the word Australia meant. At last they had a country which would be to them what Canada for thirty odd years has been to the Canadians. When Lord Hopetoun, the first Governor-General of the Commonwealth, reached the pavilion a salute of nineteen guns told the assembled throng that the final scene in the long-looked-for federation was about to take place.

The formal inaugural services began with a prayer by the Archbishop. This was a unique prayer, in a way, for while it was delivered by a church dignitary it was written by Baron Tennyson, the son of the late Laureate. It was a simple, direct prayer, sincere and free from verbiage.

"We beseech Thee, grant unto this union Thy grace and heavenly benediction, that a strong people may arise to hallow Thy name, to do justly, and to love mercy.

"We pray Thee to make our Empire always a faithful and fearless leader among the nations in all that is good, and to bless our beloved Queen and those who are put in authority under her, more especially in this land.

"Let Thy wisdom be their guide, strengthen them
2 D

in uprightness, and vouchsafe that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be deepened and increased among us."

After the prayer, the hymn based on the verse in Psalms, "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help," was sung and the dense crowd with thoughts big with hope for the future rolled out in a mighty chorus, the words:

"O God, our Help in ages past,
Our Hope for years to come."

After the religious services were finished Mr. E. G. Blackmore, C.M.G., Clerk of the South Australian Parliament, and Clerk of the Australian Federation Convention read the Proclamation, the Letters Patent and the Governor-General's Commission. Lord Hopetoun then took the oath of office and signed it at a table presented by the late Queen to her ambitious colony. Mr. Blackmore next read the Proclamation by the Governor-General stating that he had taken the oath and assumed office. The members of the Federal Ministry were then sworn in, and after being congratulated by Lord Hopetoun on the great honour done them in being privileged to help launch a new nation he read two messages from Mr. Chamberlain. The first was as follows:

"The Queen commands me to express through you to the people of Australia Her Majesty's heart-felt interest in the Inauguration of the Commonwealth and her earnest wish that, under Divine Providence, it may ensure the increased prosperity and well-being of her loyal and beloved subjects in Australia."

Amid the roar of guns, the blare of trumpets, and

the shouting of the people the new nation was born—the youngest nation in the world, with the exception of her sister island New Zealand. As a community settled by Europeans it might be said to have been born with the century. Seventy years ago a mere handful of adventurers were dwelling beside a penal settlement of twenty thousand inhabitants, and Australia was a name abhorred in England. In the middle of the century it was only a farming and grazing country with a sparse population and a few scattered farms. To-day it has four millions of people, the most democratic of the race, and in many respects as enterprising and energetic as any in the world, not even surpassed by the citizens of the United States.

Years ago Mr. James Brunton Stephens, the "Poet of Queensland" sang a powerful poem of hope entitled "The Dominion of Australia." Long before the politicians had begun to work towards a federal union the enthusiastic poet saw its possibilities and sang as follows:

" Not yet her day. How long 'Not yet ?'
There comes the flush of violet !
And heavenward faces, all aflame
With sanguine imminence of morn,
Wait but the sun-kiss to proclaim
The Day of the Dominion born.
Prelusive baptism !—Ere the natal hour
Named with the name and prophecy of power.

" Already here to heart's intense
A spirit force, transcending sense,
In heights unscaled, in deeps unstirred
Beneath the calm, above the storm,
She waits the incorporating word
To bid her tremble into form,
Already, like divining-rods, men's souls
Bend down to where the unseen river rolls."

His dream was realised after many years, and now he was able to celebrate in his "Australia Federata" the natal hour of the commonwealth.

" The Charter's read ; the rites are o'er ;
The trumpet's blare and cannon's roar
Are silent, and the flags are furled ;
But so not ends the task to build
Into the fabric of the world
The substance of our hope fulfilled—
To work as those who greatly have divined
The lordship of a continent assigned
As God's own gift for service of mankind.

O People of the onward will,
Unit of Union greater still
Than that to-day hath made you great,
Your true Fulfilment waiteth there,
Embraced within the larger fate
Of Empire ye are born to share—
No vassal progeny of subject brood,
No satellite shed from Britain's plentitude,
But orb'd with *her* in one wide sphere of good ! "

Amid the chorus of rejoicing over the federal union a very few voices were heard forecasting evil. Chief among these, according to his custom of looking for weaknesses and spots and of foreshadowing the worst, was Mr. Stead.

" It remains," he said, " to be seen how far a community which is born with a golden spoon in its mouth and which has been reared upon whipped cream and syllabubs, can rise superior to the temptations which assault most prosperous states. The Australian has been the spoiled child of destiny. The habit of self-indulgence begotten by the sunshine of prosperity will not make him very amenable to discipline, nor is there much trace of a high religious principle and lofty moral ideal among her people as a whole. That there are good men and

excellent women in every colony goes without saying ; but parental discipline is lax. The larrikin (rough or rowdy) has reproduced under the sunny sky of Australia the worst features of the London hooligan, and it is not so many years ago since the violence accompanying the trade disputes led to some misgivings as to the peaceful evolution of society in those regions."

For a nation which has had such a mushroom growth, and considering the fact that a host of adventurers and gamblers poured into her provinces in the great gold days, and that she was for a time used as the dumping ground of the prisons of England, her ideals are remarkably high—as the constitution just framed after years of calm discussion proves.

The possibilities for her future are tremendous. The great continent is as yet for the most part unexplored, and untold wealth no doubt lies waiting in the interior for the hand of the discoverer. She has, too, an advantage over any other nation on the globe. Her population is homogeneous—British and Irish throughout—and is free from the difficulties Canada finds in the French question and the United States in her negro population. The native races are now so weak that they cause the Government no trouble. British ideas, British institutions, can be developed in their purity in Australia; and it is not at all likely that any large bodies of European emigrants will risk the long voyage to the South to make for themselves homes in the Island-Continent, not so long, at any rate, as they can find an abiding place in Canada and the United States. Again it is only necessary to look at the map of the world to see the possibilities of Australia. She has never had to repel invasion as has Canada on several occasions,

and she is remote from the world of wars. It would seem that the Anglo-Saxon race will in time dominate the world, and, as the representative of that great race in the East, she will, as her trade grows and develops, exercise a greater influence probably than any of the European powers. New Guinea, Borneo, the Islands of the Pacific, China,—even India and South Africa,—will no doubt be supplied largely from her factories and her farms. Already she has a small iron-clad fleet patrolling her seas, and in time her flag will be seen in every port in the East.

No young nation ever began her career with brighter prospects, and the men at the helm can be trusted to guide her safely on her way. There is of course a danger that internal troubles may arise in time, and that New South Wales with its twenty-six members in the House of Representatives and Victoria with its twenty-three may act selfishly and against the interests of the smaller provinces. An attempt has been made in the constitution to prepare for such a contingency; but it is not to be greatly feared. The same danger has since 1867 faced the people in the Dominion of Canada, and yet the smaller provinces have never been made to suffer seriously by the selfishness of the more populous and older ones. Everything looks bright for Australia, and the opening day of the year and the century ushered her upon a career which will no doubt be both brilliant and for the ennobling of the human race.

A few brief days after the inaugural services were over the Empress-Queen died, her closing days clouded with the knowledge that so many of her subjects had gallantly given their lives for the Empire

in South Africa; and brightened by the thought that the provinces of another child of her empire had united their strength for national and imperial ends. It had been planned before her death that the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York should go to Australia for the opening of the first parliament, and for a time it was feared that their visit might be indefinitely postponed; but King Edward VII. in his speech from the throne February 14, 1901, made the announcement that: "The establishment of the Australian Commonwealth was proclaimed in Sydney on the first of January, with many manifestations of popular enthusiasm and rejoicing;" and that his son's visit to Australia should not be abandoned and that it should be extended to Canada and New Zealand.

On May 6, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York reached Melbourne, and on the 9th, formally opened in that city the First Parliament of United Australia. The opening ceremony was quite as magnificent as the inaugural ceremony of January 1 at Sydney. The Duke read the speech from the throne and closed by reading King Edward's congratulatory telegram. He then declared Parliament to be opened. As he finished, the same enthusiastic scenes that took place in January were repeated.

The members of both Houses then took the oath, and the parliaments of the Australian Commonwealth were ready to do business. This day of rejoicing closed with the singing of "Rule Britannia" and "God Save the King," and Australia officially began a new epoch in her history.

CHAPTER XLI.

GENERAL PROGRESS OF AUSTRALIA AND TASMANIA—
STATISTICS.

SETTLEMENT in Australia began with the arrival, in 1788, of 1,030 persons in what is usually known as the first fleet. At the end of twenty years the population did not exceed 10,000, nor was any great progress made until the country got rid of the incubus of penal transportation. The cessation of transportation was followed by a large influx of free immigrants, but so great were the difficulties of reaching Australia, that it was not until 1852, the year following the discovery of gold, that the population reached half a million. Commencing with the date of first settlement the growth of population is shown in the following statement; the odd periods have been chosen as they were in most instances census years.

1788.....	1,030	1861.....	1,141,563
1801.....	6,508	1871.....	1,650,471
1821.....	35,610	1881.....	2,245,448
1831.....	79,306	1891.....	3,159,085
1841.....	211,095	1899.....	8,721,095
1851.....	408,889		

It is a noteworthy fact that the years of the greatest prosperity have also been those when the country received the largest accession of population from abroad; and though it cannot be said that

the influx of population brought about improved industrial conditions, it is certain that the stream of immigration which was induced by the prosperity of the colonies tended to keep alive and stimulate the conditions without which their progress would have been slow and unsatisfactory.

No characteristic of Australasian development has been more marked than the concentration of population in the cities; this is especially the case with the continental colonies, where considerably more than one-third of the population is massed in the metropolitan areas. The one redeeming point about a very undesirable condition of affairs is, that these cities have not grown out of the rural population. It is true that the rural growth has been slower than the metropolitan, but the increase in the latter has been due to the retention of the incoming population, chiefly emigrants from the British Isles, and not to any considerable drain upon the rural districts.

Melbourne is the largest Australian city, and though not so populous as it was a few years ago, it is still one of the greatest cities of the Empire; in round numbers its population may be set down at 470,000. Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, and the oldest Australian city, contains about 427,000 people, and therefore is second to Melbourne in population, but in point of the value of property Sydney stands as the second city of the Empire, Melbourne ranking fourth, being exceeded only by London, Sydney, and Glasgow.

The following is the population of the capital cities of Australia at the beginning of 1899, and at various earlier dates. With Adelaide is included the population of Port Adelaide, number-

ing about 21,000; the Port is merely an extension of the city, although under different municipal governments.

City.	1841.	1851	1871.	1891.	1899.
Sydney.....	29,973	53,924	137,776	383,283	427,000
Melbourne.....	4,479	23,143	206,780	490,896	470,000
Adelaide.....	8,480	14,577	42,744	153,896	168,000
Brisbane.....	500	2,543	15,029	93,657	108,000
Perth.....	.....	.....	5,244	8,447	40,000
Hobart.....	.....	.....	19,092	33,224	40,500

As showing the importance of the two chief cities of Australia it may be mentioned that the assessed annual value of property in Sydney even under the present reduced valuations is higher than in any city in Great Britain, London alone excepted; while the annual value of Melbourne is only surpassed by London, and to a small extent by Glasgow. The annual value of Sydney is £5,019,230, and of Melbourne £4,168,182, while that of Glasgow, the second city of the United Kingdom, is £4,208,000 and of Liverpool £3,775,045.

The Australian people are mainly of British and Irish origin. Of the 3,136,769 persons whose birth-places were ascertained at the census of 1891, 2,179,206 were of Australasian birth, while 470,399 were natives of England and Wales, 226,949 of Ireland, and 123,138 of Scotland, and 13,356 of other British possessions. The natives of Continental Europe and the United States numbered 87,009, and the Chinese 36,032. Excluding the Chinese, who are not permanent settlers, and who do not intermarry with the general population, it may be claimed that over 95 per cent. of the population of the six colonies are of British or Irish birth or descent.

The conditions of life are very favourable in Aus-

tralia, the excess of births over deaths being about 18 per thousand inhabitants. For the United Kingdom, it is a little over 11 per thousand; while the average European rate hardly reaches 10 per thousand.

The first records of shipping arriving or departing from the Australian colonies are dated 1832. In that year the tonnage entered and cleared amounted to 148,000. The growth of trade since then has been marvellous, for taking the whole period covered by the following table the annual increase has been seven per cent., which is considerably greater than that of the population.

The tonnage of shipping entered from and cleared for Great Britain and other ports outside of Australasia has very largely increased:

1841.....	307,000	1881.....	3,173,168
1851.....	432,000	1891.....	6,489,846
1861.....	1,128,026	1898.....	8,057,435
1871.....	1,458,589		

Equally rapid has been the increase in the inter-colonial shipping entered and cleared:

1841.....	230,000	1881.....	4,936,856
1851.....	453,000	1891.....	9,745,367
1861.....	1,297,122	1898.....	12,283,694
1871.....	2,233,054		

In point of trade, Sydney is the fourth seaport of the British Empire, being exceeded in the value of its imports and exports by London, Liverpool, and Hull; Melbourne ranks sixth, following Glasgow, which is below Sydney. In the matter of tonnage entering, both Sydney and Melbourne stand very high, but not so high, as in regard to the value of their trade. Adelaide, Brisbane, and Fremantle are also considerable ports, as well as Newcastle,

Rockhampton, Townsville, Port Pirie and several others, as is shown by the following statement giving the value of trade in the year 1898:

Port.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
Sydney.....	18,364,539	21,630,664
Newcastle.....	409,527	1,782,634
Melbourne	14,530,388	14,986,315
Geelong.....	130,754	346,946
Brisbane	3,333,740	2,490,001
Rockhampton.....	622,061	2,434,287
Townsville.....	875,175	2,616,511
Bundaberg.....	93,754	466,123
Maryborough.....	164,194	98,200
Mackay	107,533	382,878
Adelaide	3,826,071	4,262,336
Port Pirie.....	330,162	1,085,254
Wallaroo.....	94,009	211,968
Port Augusta	11,970	174,058
Port Darwin	113,960	182,596
Fremantle and Perth....	4,623,426	2,006,831
Albany	233,426	2,092,892
Geraldton.....	233,261	495,889
Hobart.....	615,199	626,542
Launceston.....	659,832	549,234
Strahan	229,534	416,036

The value of exports and imports is greatly relied upon by statisticians as giving a measure of a country's progress. The external trade of Australia—that is, the value of imports and exports taken together—was:—

	£		£
1841.....	4,072,000	1881.....	57,016,879
1851.....	8,463,600	1891.....	74,019,462
1861.....	35,705,698	1898.....	72,119,925
1871.....	39,000,279		

The fall shown between 1891 and 1898 is due to a decline in values, and not to a decrease in the quantities of goods exchanged, for the quantity of goods

dealt with was actually one-fifth larger in the latter than in the former year.

The trade between the colonies suffered also from the fall in values, but the volume was well maintained. The imports and exports, taken together, were:—

	£		£
1841.....	820,000	1881.....	31,176,177
1851.....	1,282,600	1891.....	54,676,577
1861.....	12,658,451	1898.....	56,418,788
1871.....	31,113,528		

From the earliest days wool has been the great staple of Australia. The wool clip is nearly all exported, and the total for each period was:—

	£		£
1861.....	75,019,800	1891.....	590,699,800
1871.....	175,169,400	1898.....	495,266,950
1881.....	307,951,600		

Australia is eminently a pastoral country. It contains nearly one-fourth of the sheep of the world, as well as more cattle and horses in proportion to the population than any other country.

	Sheep.	Cattle.	Horses.	Swine.
1861.....	20,980,123	8,846,554	431,695	319,147
1871.....	40,072,955	4,277,228	701,530	586,017
1881.....	65,078,341	8,010,991	1,088,029	703,188
1891.....	106,419,751	11,029,499	1,574,795	845,741
1898.....	80,789,777	10,443,065	1,673,988	858,130

The total value of pastoral property, excluding land devoted to grazing, is £193,648,000, while the value of stock alone is £93,554,000. Australia has long maintained with Europe a trade in preserved meats, but the more important industry of chilled or frozen meat was initiated in 1882. The value of meat products exported was:—

	£		£
1881	327,540	1898	1,718,300
1891	403,080		

The description of the export was:

	Chilled or frozen Beef. cwt.	Mutton and Lamb. cwt.	Preserved Meats. lb.
1881.....	....	9,980	17,742,560
1891.....	52,609	261,718	10,967,917
1898.....	579,810	610,506	30,900,440

Dairying for export is also an industry of recent establishment, and one which has the promise of a great future. The growth of the trade may be gauged from the following figures, showing the export of butter to the United Kingdom:—

	lb.		lb.
1881.....	745,617	1894.....	27,706,987
1891.....	4,193,809	1898.....	19,876,236

The area devoted to the plough has increased nearly sevenfold since 1861:—

	Acres under crop.		Acres under crop.
1861.....	1,269,042	1891.....	5,365,685
1871.....	2,845,923	1899.....	8,421,624
1881.....	4,489,607		

The principal crop is wheat, which covers considerably more than half the area in cultivation. The following figures, which include permanent grasses, relate to the year 1899:—

	Acres.		Acres.
Wheat for grain...	5,468,674	Vines.....	59,777
Oats.....	874,708	Hay.....	1,507,005
Maize.....	806,878	Other crops.....	511,317
Other grain crops..	87,504	Permanent grasses.	773,864
Potatoes.....	105,761		
Total.....			9,195,488

Though exporting in an average season not more than nine million bushels of wheat, Australia ranks sixth amongst the export countries of the world.

The present annual yield of the mines may be set down at £16,500,000, and the average for the last forty-seven years has been somewhat over ten millions sterling a year. From 1852 to 1898 there has been a total production of £476,303,413, thus made up:—

	£		£
Gold.....	357,781,082	Tin.....	18,150,767
Silver and silver- lead.....	29,009,130	Coal.....	37,653,863
Copper.....	29,429,728	Other minerals...	4,278,843

The production at various periods was:—

	£		£
1871.....	8,611,000	1891.....	12,047,060
1881.....	9,789,000	1898.....	16,643,463

The value of the produce of the mines, fields, farms, forests, and workshops for 1896-7 averaged £26 per head of total population. In previous years this figure has been greatly exceeded. The following are the total values of production for the years named:—

	£		£
1871.....	46,700,000	1891.....	96,086,000
1881.....	71,116,000	1897.....	92,605,000

The fall from 1891 to 1897 is due to a fall in prices, as the actual qualities produced have largely increased. Distributing the return for 1897 under the generally recognised branches of production, the value assignable to each was:—

	£
Agriculture.....	16,541,000
Pastoral industries.....	28,216,000
Dairying, etc.....	8,681,000
Mineral production.....	16,643,000
Forests and fisheries.....	2,259,000
Other industries.....	<u>24,547,000</u>
Total.....	96,887,000

Compared with the population, the primary production of Australia is not exceeded, or even closely approached by any other country; and in regard to total value is surpassed only by the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, and Spain, in Europe, and by the United States of America.

The revenue of the governments of the six colonies exceeds £27,000,000, which is more than one-fourth of that of Great Britain and Ireland, although the population of the colonies is hardly more than one-tenth. In Australia, however, practically all the railways belong to the State, and the revenue from this source is about £10,000,000. The total public revenue was:—

	£		£
1861	5,494,976	1891	25,717,988
1871	7,927,649	1898-9	27,425,399
1881	16,754,740		

The principal sources of revenue may be summarised as follows:—

	£
Taxation—Customs and Excise.....	7,281,947
Other.....	2,497,262
Railways and Tramways.....	10,001,357
Posts and Telegraphs.....	2,155,668
Public Lands.....	3,358,897
Other Revenue	<u>2,180,226</u>
Total.....	27,425,355

The public debt of the colonies is very heavy, averaging over £51 per inhabitant; however, the greater part of it was incurred for the purpose of providing funds for the construction of railways and other revenue-yielding works. The following shows the use to which the borrowed money was put:—

	£
Railways.....	121,623,846
Water Supply and Sewerage.....	22,142,205
Telegraphs and Telephones.....	3,278,801
Other Works and Services.....	36,140,574
Total.....	<u>183,185,426</u>

The annual interest and charges upon the public debt amount to £7,463,000, while the net revenue obtained from works constructed from loan funds is about £4,118,000, leaving a net liability of £3,345,000 per annum. The increase of Australian indebtedness may be traced in the following figures:—

	£		£
1861.....	11,299,190	1891.....	155,117,773
1871.....	30,139,880	1899.....	191,556,934
1881.....	66,306,471		

The deposits in ordinary banks and savings institutions now reach a total of £110,671,617, which, however, is somewhat smaller than in 1891, owing to losses and withdrawals consequent on the financial panic of May, 1893. The total deposits in all banks were:—

	£		£
1861.....	15,161,909	1891.....	120,905,294
1871.....	25,044,122	1898.....	110,671,617
1881.....	61,584,903		

The increase over the whole period has been mar-

vellous, and the accumulation of £30 per head is not equalled in any other country.

Australasia now boasts railways open to the extent of 12,656 miles, nearly all of which are the property of the State. The length of line just mentioned is equal to one mile to every 235 square miles of territory, and to every 294 inhabitants. Compared with population, Australia is better served than even the United States, and equally served with the Dominion of Canada. The mileage open was:—

1861.....	243	1891.....	10,394
1871.....	1,030	1898.....	12,656
1881.....	4,192		

Equally rapid has been the progress of telegraphic construction, but the following figures must be accepted as approximate only:—

1861.....	4,100	1891.....	39,176
1871.....	10,500	1898.....	43,256
1881.....	25,604		

The number of messages received and despatched in 1898 was, in round numbers, 7,000,000, or 1.9 per inhabitant. In the United Kingdom the average is 2.1. No other country approaches these figures.

The facilities offered by the Post-Office are very largely availed of. About 186 million letters and post-cards, 91 million newspapers, and 33 million packets are annually carried, figures which, when taken together and compared with the population, are largely in excess of those of any other country; but in the matter of letters alone Australia is surpassed by the United Kingdom and the United States.

In regard to social condition, there has been a

very material improvement in the population of those colonies. From 1861 to 1898 population increased between three and four-fold, while serious crime, as evidenced by convictions in the Superior Courts, has only increased one-fourth. The spread of education has been very marked. Out of every 10,000 children between 5 and 15 years, there could read and write in:—

1861.....	4,637	1881.....	7,058
1871.....	5,911	1891.....	7,565

If the marriage registers be turned to, still more convincing testimony to the spread of education will be found.

Out of 10,000 persons married the illiterates were:—

1861.....	2,460	1891.....	234
1871.....	1,849	1898.....	165
1881.....	556		

And even of the present small residuum of illiterates, the larger number were not born in Australia.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX TO EVENTS IN AUSTRALASIA.

- 1770— Captain Cook in the *Endeavour* landed at Botany Bay and took possession of the country in the name of King George III.
- 1772— Captain Marion du Fresne and Captain Crozet voyaged from Nantes in the *Mascarin* and *Castres* to Tasmania.
- 1773— New Act passed authorising transportation.
- 1778— Governor Phillip arrived with the first Fleet in Botany Bay.
- " Formal proclamation of New South Wales.
- " Settlement of Norfolk Island by Lieutenant Philip Gidley King with fifteen men and six convict women.
- " Jean François Galup de la Perouse visited Botany Bay. Father Le Receveur, naturalist of the expedition, died and was buried there.
- 1791— King George's Sound discovered by Captain George Vancouver in the *Discovery* and *Chatham*.
- " Captain Bligh passed Cape York in the launch of the *Bounty*.
- 1792— Admiral Bruni D'Entrecasteaux in the *Recherche* and *L'Esperance* searches for *La Perouse*.
- 1794— John Hayes in the *Duke* and *Duchess* visits Tasmania.
- 1795-6— Voyage of Dr. George Bass and Matthew Flinders in the *Tom Thumb*.
- 1797— Lieutenant Shortland discovered the Hunter River.
- 1798— Discovery of coal at the Hunter River.
- " Discovery of Bass' Straits by Dr. George Bass and Matthew Flinders in the *Norfolk*.
- 1801-2— Matthew Flinders in the *Investigator* completed his survey of the Australian coasts.
- " Captains Baudin and Hamelin in the French ships *Geographe* and *Naturaliste* visit the Australian coast.
- 1802— Discovery and survey of Port Phillip by Captain John Murray and Surveyor Grimes in the *Lady Nelson*.

- 1803— Abortive attempt at settlement in Port Phillip. Lieutenant Colonel Collins formed a penal settlement at Port Phillip, which was soon abandoned.
- 1804— Insurrection of convicts in New South Wales—suppressed by the military. The ringleaders, eight in number, were executed.
- 1804— Tasmania founded under the name of Van Diemen's Land.
- 1805— John MacArthur commenced sheep-farming at Camden. Immediate success.
- 1808— Governor Bligh deposed. The Government taken over by Major Johnson commanding the New South Wales Corps.
- 1812— Tasmania declared a separate colony.
- 1813— Wentworth, Lawson, and Blaxland succeeded in crossing the Blue Mountains. The Bathurst Plains discovered.
- 1814— Country round Berrima explored by Hamilton Hume and his brother.
- " Civil Courts introduced in New South Wales. Ellis Bent first judge of the Supreme Court.
- 1815— First Australian inland river discovered by Deputy Surveyor Evans and named Macquarie.
- 1817— Lakes George and Bathurst, and the Goulburn Plains, discovered by Messrs. Meehan and Hume.
- 1817-19— John Oxley, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, explored the Lachlan and Macquarie.
- 1820— First Australian Constitution (New South Wales).
- " Partial separation of Tasmania from New South Wales.
- 1823— Pandora's Pass, in the Liverpool Range, discovered by Allan Cunningham.
- " Surveyor-General Oxley discovered the Brisbane River.
- 1824— Settlement on Melville Island.
- " Penal settlement at Moreton Bay.
- " Hamilton Hume and W. H. Howell make a successful overland journey from Sydney to Port Phillip.
- 1825— Free immigration introduced on the recommendation of Mr. Commissioner Bigge. Grants of land were offered to the immigrants as inducement and convicts assigned to them.
- " Major Lockyer made a boat excursion up the Brisbane River.
- 1826— Major Lockyer founded a settlement at King George's Sound.
- " Penal settlement proclaimed at Moreton Bay.
- " Discovery of the river Darling by Sturt.
- 1827— Allan Cunningham discovered the Darling Downs,

- and the Dumaresque, Gwydir, and Condamine Rivers.
- 1828— Second Constitution of New South Wales.
 " Captain James Stirling and Charles Fraser, in H.M.S. *Success*, surveyed the coast of Western Australia from King George's Sound to Swan River.
- 1829— Settlement at Swan River.
- 1829-30— Captain Sturt sailed down the Murray—explored the Murrumbidgee.
- 1830— Black war in Tasmania.
- 1831— Major Bannister crossed from Perth to King George's Sound.
 " Lord Ripon's Land Regulations passed.
- 1834— The South Australian Act.
- 1834— The Henty Brothers settled at Portland Bay.
- 1835— Expeditions to Port Phillip by John Batman. Fawkner's expedition to Port Phillip.
- 1836— Adelaide founded by Sir John Hindmarsh, first Governor of South Australia.
 " Captain Hobson, in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, surveyed and named Hobson's Bay.
 " Sir Thomas Mitchell led an expedition through Australia Felix.
 " First formal recognition of squatting in New South Wales.
 " Proclamation of Port Phillip District.
- 1837— Captain George Grey with Lieutenant Lushington explored the North-West coast.
- 1838— Assignment system discontinued in New South Wales.
 " Massacre of forty blacks by white settlers at Myall Creek—seven of the offenders hanged.
- 1839— Second expedition by Captain George Grey in Western Australia.
 " George Hamilton and party journey overland from Sydney to Melbourne.
- 1840— Discovery of Gippsland by Angus McMillan.
- 1840-41— E. J. Eyre travelled along the Great Australian Bight to King George's Sound.
- 1841— Abolition of transportation to New South Wales.
 " Separation of New Zealand from New South Wales.
- 1842— Discovery of the Kapunda Mine by Captain Bagot.
- 1842— Discovery of the splendid Burra Burra copper mines.
 " First representative constitution of New South Wales.
- 1843— Crown Land Sales Act (Imperial).
 " Proclamation of Moreton Bay settlement (Brisbane).
 Great commercial crisis in New South Wales. Failure of the Bank of Australia. Great lottery of

- Bank property. Enormous decrease in values—sheep sold at 6d. a head, cattle at 3s. 6d. per head.
- 1843—Count Paul Strzelecki explores Gippsland in McMillan's tracks.
- 1844-45—Great Central Desert expedition under Captain Charles Sturt.
- " First expedition of Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt from Darling Downs to Port Essington.
- 1845-46—Sir Thomas Mitchell's Barcoo expedition.
- 1846—Leichhardt's second expedition,
- " First expedition of A. C. Gregory and his brother in Western Australia.
- 1847—First expedition of E. Kennedy to determine the final course of the Victoria River.
- 1848—Leichhardt's third and last expedition.
- " Exploration of river Gascoyne, Western Australia, by A. C. Gregory and party.
- " First Australian University opened at Sydney.
- 1849—Commencement of transportation to Western Australia.
- " Attempted revival of transportation to New South Wales. The convict ship *Hashemy* was sent on from Melbourne to Sydney. The landing of the convicts was opposed with great indignation. Eventually the convicts were assigned to the squatters on the Darling Downs.
- 1850—The construction of the first Australian railway line begun.
- 1851—Victoria proclaimed a separate colony.
- " Gold discovered in Victoria and New South Wales.
- " Customs establishments transferred to Colonial Governments.
- 1852—Gold revenue transferred to Colonial Exchequer.
- 1853—Abolition of transportation to Tasmania.
- " Colonial Mints established.
- " Disturbances on the Victorian gold-fields.
- " The name Van Diemen's Land changed to Tasmania.
- 1854—The Eureka Stockade.
- 1855—The first railway opened—line between Sydney and Parramatta.
- " Sir Thomas Mitchell died near Sydney.
- " New scheme for the government of the gold-fields introduced.
- 1856—Responsible Government introduced into all the colonies except Western Australia.
- 1858—Three colonies—Victoria, South Australia, and New South Wales—agree to suspend collection of border duties during three years. Victoria abrogated the agreement within the term.

- 1858— J. McDouall Stuart's first expedition.
- 1859— J. McDouall Stuart's second expedition.
" Queensland proclaimed a separate colony.
- 1860-61— Burke and Wills expedition. Death of Burke, Wills and Grey.
- 1861-62— J. McDouall Stuart's third expedition—he crossed the Continent from South to North.
- 1865— Total abolition of transportation to the Australian colonies.
- 1867— Discovery, by three brothers named Morgan, of the Mount Morgan Gold-field. The land bought by them for £140 is now worth £18,000,000.
- 1869— John Forrest's first expedition to Lake Barlee, Western Australia.
" J. McDouall Stuart died in England.
- 1870— John Forrest travelled the Great Bight from Perth to Adelaide.
" Representative Government granted to Western Australia.
" Federal Conference held at Melbourne.
" British troops withdrawn from New South Wales and Victoria.
- 1871— First railway in Tasmania opened from Launceston to Deloraine.
" Tin discovered at Mount Bischoff, Tasmania.
- 1872— W. C. Wentworth died.
" Great Overland Telegraph Line, Port Augusta, South Australia, to Port Darwin, Northern Territory, was completed.
" Gold discovered on the Palmer River, Queensland.
" Cable was laid from Port Darwin, Northern Territory, to Java.
" Ernest Giles' first expedition in Western Australia.
- 1873— Free, secular, and compulsory education introduced in Victoria.
- 1873— Rich yields of gold at Hill End, New South Wales.
" Melbourne and Wodonga railway was opened.
" Second expedition of Ernest Giles.
" Major Warburton travelled from Alice Springs to the Oakover River in Western Australia.
- 1874— John Forrest explored from the Murchison to the Overland Telegraph Line.
" Fiji Islands acquired by Great Britain.
" Triennial Parliaments instituted in New South Wales.
" Adelaide University founded.
- 1875— Giles conducted the Elder expedition from Peake Station, South Australia, to North-West coast of Western Australia.

- 1875— State aid to religion abolished in Victoria.
 " Free Secular Education Act passed in Queensland.
- 1876— Turganini, last of Tasmanian natives, died.
- 1877— Gold discovered at Beaconsfield, Tasmania.
 " Overland Telegraph Line, Adelaide to Perth, opened.
 " Upper House, Victoria, rejected Payment of Members Bill.
 " High Commissioner of Western Pacific appointed.
- 1877-78— Chinese Immigration Restriction Act of Queensland passed.
- 1878— Black Wednesday. Dismissal in Melbourne of hundreds of civil servants. Petition made to the Imperial Government to assist the colony in its constantly recurring constitutional difficulties—Mr. Graham Berry the spokesman. The Secretary of State refused to interfere at the request of one House only.
 " Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway was purchased by Government.
 " Secular and compulsory education established in South Australia.
- 1879— Ernest Favene led the Queenslander trans-continental expedition from Blackall to Powell's Creek, on the Overland Telegraph Line.
 " Discovery of the Ord and Margaret Rivers by Alexander Forrest.
 " Garden Palace Exhibition at Sydney was opened.
 " First Artesian Bore in Australia sunk, at Killara, New South Wales.
 " Alex. Forrest discovered the Fitzroy River, Western Australia.
 " New South Wales Mint first issued silver coin.
- 1880— Fortnightly mail service with England commenced.
 " Melbourne University was opened to women.
 " Compulsory Secular Education Act passed in New South Wales.
 " First International Exhibition, Melbourne, was opened.
 " Federal Conference at Melbourne and Sydney.
 " Australian frozen meat was first delivered in London.
- 1881— Poll tax was imposed on Chinese.
 " Nugget of 1,393 oz. was found at Temora, New South Wales.
- 1883— Queensland Government sent officer to take possession of New Guinea. Annexation repudiated by Lord Derby.
 " Sydney and Melbourne connected by railway.
 " Charles Rasp discovered silver at Broken Hill, New South Wales.

- 1883— Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery established, Adelaide.
- 1884— British Protectorate declared over New Guinea.
- 1885— Australian Contingent for Soudan sailed from Sydney.
- " Silver-lead discovered at Mount Zeehan, Tasmania.
- 1886— Federal Council began first session, Hobart, Tasmania—Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia, and Fiji represented.
- " South Australia celebrated its jubilee.
- 1887— Bulli Colliery, New South Wales, explosion, 81 lives lost.
- " Australian Conference in London.
- " Gold was discovered at Yilgarn, Western Australia.
- 1888— Centenary of landing of Captain Phillip celebrated throughout New South Wales.
- " Weekly mail service to England commenced.
- " Imperial Defences Act passed.
- " Second Victorian International Exhibition was opened at Melbourne.
- 1889— Cable was laid, Broome, Western Australia, to Banjoewangie, Java.
- " Hawkesbury River Railway Bridge, New South Wales, was completed. Direct railway communication was established between Brisbane and Adelaide.
- 1890— Gold was discovered at Mount Morgan, Queensland.
- " Federal Conference, Melbourne.
- " Great strike disturbances at Sydney.
- " Responsible Government granted to Western Australia.
- " University of Tasmania established.
- 1891— Australian Federal Conference met at Sydney.
- " Auxiliary Squadron arrived in Port Jackson.
- " Colonies entered Universal Postal Union.
- 1892— Run on Savings Bank, Sydney, occurred.
- " Public education made free in South Australia.
- " Bayley discovered rich reefs at Coolgardie, Western Australia.
- 1893— The great flood at Brisbane.
- " Financial panic at Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane, many banks suspended payment.
- " "One man one vote" came into force in New South Wales.
- " Cable, Bundaberg, Queensland, to New Caledonia, was opened.
- 1894— Live cattle first shipped from Sydney to Great Britain.
- 1895— Conference of Premiers at Hobart.

- 1895— Live cattle shipped from Brisbane to London.
 " Governor Sir R. W. Duff, of New South Wales, died.
 " Federation Enabling Act passed by various colonies.
 " Public Service Act passed in New South Wales.
 " Subsidies to denominational schools withdrawn in Western Australia.
- 1896— State Bank, under State Advances Bill, established in South Australia.
 " Calvert exploring expedition from Adelaide, South Australia.
 " Queensland rejected the Australian Federation Enabling Act.
- 1897— Chief Justice Way of South Australia appointed member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.
 " Australian Federal Convention met at Adelaide.
 " Australasian premiers and colonial troops were present in England at the Record Reign celebrations.
 " Australian Federal Convention met at Sydney.
- 1898— Federal Convention third session at Melbourne.
 " Coolgardie Exhibition.
 " Government notified that in future Japanese labourers would not be allowed to land in Queensland without passports from their Government.
 " Hon. T. J. Byrnes, Premier of Queensland, died.
 " Right to coin silver and bronze tokens conceded to Australian Mints—the profits therefrom to be retained by local Governments.
- 1899— Earl Beauchamp appointed Governor of New South Wales and Lord Tennyson Governor of South Australia.
 " Conference of Premiers on Federation held at Melbourne.
 " Ten members appointed to Legislative Council in order to carry Commonwealth Bill.
 " Referendum on Commonwealth Bill taken in five colonies—Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, and Queensland.
 " Departure of Australian contingents for South Africa.
- 1900— The Australian Commonwealth Consummated.
- 1901— Inaugural ceremonies, Jan. 1.
 " First parliament opened by the Duke of Cornwall and York, May 9.

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